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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2706

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SAUDI PAPER ON PERMANENT GCC MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

GF291115 Jidda Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 29 Jan 83

[Text] The Al-Dammam paper AL-YAWM today reported that the GCC is about to draft a new plan that will be a qualitative change in the march of Gulf cooperation and a serious and practical step by the area countries in strengthening a unified Gulf strategy.

AL-YAWM said that the GCC is currently drafting plans to set up a permanent GCC ministerial council similar to the council of Europe's committee of ministers.

Citing well-informed sources, AL-YAWM said that the ministerial council will include one minister from each of the GCC's six member countries and the ministers will devote their time for working in the council. The source said that among the candidates for the council are ministers who currently hold posts in GCC countries and this illustrates the GCC's serious approach to the proposed ministerial council

The GCC ministerial council currently comprises the foreign ministers of member countries or ministers representing them. The chairmanship of the council is rotational and assigned to member countries alphabetically.

CSO: 4400/171

INCREASE IN EXPENDITURE PLANNED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 4, 24 Jan 83 p 4

[Text]

Algeria's National Assembly has approved a 1983 budget which provides for expenditure of AD 98.67 billion (about \$21 billion), almost one-third more than in 1982. Whereas many oil-exporting countries have had to trim their budgets as a result of lower revenues in a glutted oil market, Algeria managed to earn as much from its oil and gas exports last year as it did in 1981.

Exports of liquefied natural gas and condensates rose sharply. Thanks to a long-term contract signed early last year, Algeria became France's leading for sign supplier of natural gas (An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO, February 8). Natural gas exports to Italy, which are scheduled to begin this year, will help boost the oil and gas revenue earned by the state hydrocarbons monopoly Sonatrach to AD 59.5 billion (\$12.7 billion), compared with AD 48 billion (\$10.3 billion) in 1982.

Sonatrach's revenue will continue to be the main source of state income, though its share is slated to decline from 65 to 60 per cent. The gap will be filled by taxes, because of greater efficiency in collecting them, and more company activity. The government plans to spend AD 50.4 billion (\$10.8 billion) on investment and about the same amount on running costs. Education will continue to receive about a quarter of the spending total.

The budget projects a rise in imports to AD 50 billion (\$10.7 billion) this year, compared with AD 46.5 billion last year, AD 47.5 billion the previous year and AD 41.5 billion in 1980. The trade surplus, which has hovered around AD 15 billion (\$3.2 billion) over the last two years, is expected to rise to AD 20 billion in 1983.

Algeria's exports to the US dropped by 50 per cent last year as US companies walked away from expensive Algerian crude oil. Imports from the US rose by about 20 per cent to reach \$1 billion. They include advanced Hercules transport aircraft, oil and gas equipment and army trucks.

PRESIDENT OPENS ARMY-BUILT BAKERY

Cairo THE ECYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 24 Jan 83 pp 1, 6

[Text]

PRESIDENT Hosni Mubarak imaugurated yesterday a semi-automatic bakery, manufactured and installed by the Armed Forces specialised organs at Medinet el-Salam, a newly developed suburban community northeast of Cairo.

The semi-automatic bakery has been designed in such a way as to be capable of meeting Medinet el-Salam's requirements of bread. The production capacity of this unit is estimated at 720,000 losves a day.

While touring the many sections of the facility, President Mubarak was given briefings by section supervisors on processing stages. The President was escorted during this field visit by the Prime Minister, Dr. Fund Mohieddin, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Field Marshal Mohamed Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala, the Minister of Supply and Hears Trade, Ahmed Noah, and the Governor of Cairo, Saad Ma'moun.

This Armed Forces-built facility comprises two major wards, each operating three four-line production units. One of these units has been assigned to produce bread especially for the outskirts of Medinet el-Salam with a total output

capacity of 45,000 loaves per hour.

MASTER-PLAN

The inauguration of this facility marks an advanced stage in the implementation of a master-plan to install four such facilities in Greater Cairo. The plan, with an estimated cost of some L.E. 13 million, provides for the setting up of these facilities in Al-Haram, Helwan and Medinet Nasr suburbs.

Following the end of this field visit, President Mubarak areve to the Abu Kiz Company for Engineering Industries, a military production sector affiliate. This company is the manufacturer of semi-automatic bakeries employing advanced technologies.

While touring the Abu Kir Company wards, the President commined the model blueprints for the manufacturing of sophisticated auto-bakeries which can produce fine-quality bread.

A senior executive at the Shu Kir Company told President Muharak that they have already concluded contracts to provide the government with \$60 semi-automatic bakeries. The Company, said the senior executive, has assembled and

delivered 200 such bakeries, now operating perfectly well in almost all governorates including those of the Sinai

Winding up his tour of the Abu Kir Company wards, President Mubarak signalled his appreciation for the progress of work in brief word he wrote in the Visitors Book, "It is definitely a magnanimous national effort, and I take pride in congratulating all those who have contributed to this success, "President Mubarak wrote.

ABU GHAZALA

Speaking to reporters who gathered at the company, Field Marshal Mohamed Abdul Hatim Abu Ghazala said that the going operational of the facility which President Mubarak inaugurated marks the culmination of Armed Forces efforts to set up four giant bread production plants, comprising 32 semi-automatic and full-automatic bakeries within a time period of not more than six months.

Upon completion of this pian, Field Marshal Abu Ghazala said, the total production capacity of bread processed in these four plants will touch up some three million loaves a day. The Ministry of Supply and Home Trade is meanwhile examining a set of options to decide where the outlets can best be installed so as to offer for marketting the whole lot produced, Field Marshal Abu Ghazala told reporters — GSS

BUTANE GAS CONSUMPTION RISES

Cairo THE ECYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 20 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

Ahmed Nuh. However, he said kilos each. in a statement yesterday, the

currently stipulated that dif. ferent kinds of butane gas cylinders he used in houses from those used in hotels and other complaining about is not due busiliesses.

Hotels, the minister said, will the Minister said, as much as

The country's consumption of use butane gas tanks which to the scarcity of distribution butane gas is increaseing at a are re-filled from certain kinds outlets. rate of 30 per cost annually, of tamkers . As for the poul. according to the Minister of try farms, they will use the sector and 35 private sector Supply and Home Trade, Mr large cylinders weighing 37.5 outlets in the sprawling region

government spaces no effort in Minister said, our consumption is a matter of distribution, not securing supplies for domestic by 1937, the final year of the five-year development plan, will stand at 915,000 tons annually. The Ministry of Supply has Two thirds of the butane gas, sential consumer goods , For is consumed in Cairo and Giza

> The shortage the public are to a lack of butane gas imports

All in all, we have 30 public of Greater Cairo. The problem It this increase continues, the is gradually being solved, alt supply, he said.

> The state pays 8 million US dollars daily in supplies of es. instance, we pay 950 US doilars a ton of sugar he said, and a simple calculation reveals how much we pay for sugar imports which reach 1,200,000 tons year. _ GSS

BRIEFS

JAPAN FINANCES COAL FEASIBILITY STUDY—The Japanese government has agreed to grant the Ministry of Power \$1,100,000 to finance feasibilit, and technique studies for the first Egyptian coal-operated power station at 1 in 40 mu in Sinai, Mr Abdul Hamid el-Sayed, Chairman of Egypt's Electricity A clority, said yesterday. This announcement followed a meeting with a delegation from the Japanese International Cooperation Agency which is visiting caypt. Mr El-Sayed also said that these studies would be completed the next ten months in order to prepare a final report on the project. The report, he wided, would be submitted to a number of international financing organisations. The power station would use the large reserves of coal in Sinai to generate the power.—MEN. [Text] [Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 19 Jan 83 p 2]

LIBYA

BRIEFS

AIRCRAFT LOST--The General Administration of Civil Aviation of the Jamahiriyah has indicated that last Sunday, 16 January, at 8:25, a "Jet Star" airplane belonging to the Libyan Air company took off on private flight No LN 200 to Algeria, with a pilot and co-pilot on board and that no contact has been established with this aircraft since then. The Administration added that nearby flight control centers in Athens, Malta, Italy, Tunisia, Algeria, and Cyprus were alerted so thay they could contribute their assistance in searching aircraft. [Text] [Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 19 Jan 83 p 6]

CSO: 4519/134

KUWAITI DAILY INTERVIEWS MOROCCAN PRIME MINISTER

GF291840 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 28 Jan 83 p 9

[Interview with Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabid by AL-QABAS correspondent Husayn Salamah in Casablanca 25 January]

[Excerpts] [Question] How far along are efforts to solve the Moroccan Sahara problem?

[Answer] In fact we all hope that the Western Saharan question will be resolved to everyone's satisfaction. You know that his majesty the king has repeatedly announced that we stretched our arms to our real foes, particularly our Algerian neighbors, who have continued to support the mercenaries and help those in charge of the Polisario. We have always been willing to talk to the Algerian brothers for whom it is not in their interest to keep the war going whether from the economic point of view or from the point of brotherhood and neighborliness.

In spite of all this and despite the mediations that have been made, it always appeared that the Algerians were intransigent. Until now we have not been able to find a way to agree on having these negotiations succeed.

In spite of all this, we are still receptive and prepared to accept it [as published] and we view things responsibly. Thus, it remains for this question to be put to the Algerians if they want this problem in the Western Sahara to end. We await their answer.

[Question] Are there any new efforts?

[Answer] Everyone is making an effort. There are many efforts. But our Arab brothers intervene on all occasions but until this moment, and I am talking to you today--25 January--the Algerian brothers have not understood that it is better for everyone for this tension in the Western or Moroccan Sahara to end. [passage omitted]

[Question] At the beginning of the conversation [this probably refers to an informal discussion not included in the published interview] you spoke about your tour of various parts of the kingdom and about the efforts you have been

making in order to establish a new party. What is the name of this party?

[Answer] What I have accomplished so far is to hold consultations and so far I have not chosen a name for this party.

[Question] This would be the 11th party in Morocco, if my information is correct. Do you believe that the Moroccan people require additional parties?

[Answer] I and a group of friends felt there is a political vacuum that has to be filled. We felt that the Moroccan youth are almost completely isolated and that they are being manipulated by wrong leaderships and currents that may not be in the country's supreme interest. There is also a completely isolated group that carries out its employment tasks but seems to be disinterested in the internal affairs of its country. Hence, we thought of establishing a new framework and a new organization in order to fill the vacuum. [passage omitted]

So far we have not established the party's program or its name or its method of action.

[Question] When will you announce the formation of your party?

[Answer] Today I have finished the consultations and next week I will move to the next stage. I will call representatives from all districts in order to convene meetings for the introduction of the program and statute. Once they agree on all this I will announce the party. I believe this will take place in February.

[Question] Will the new party be represented in the Western Sahara?

[Answer] This is inevitable, and this is the only district that I have not visited yet. I will visit it this week God willing in order to hold meetings there like the ones I held in the other districts. [passage omitted]

[Question] Let us go back to your new party. What are the general principles on which this party will be established?

[Answer] Three bases: Morocco is an Arab and Islamic country, constitutional monarchy and the democratic system. [passage omitted]

'KUNA' INTERVIEWS MOROCCAN OPPOSITION LEADER BOUABID

LD270341 Kuwait KUNA in English 1316 GMT 26 Jan 83

[Text] Rabat, 26 Jan (KUNA)--Leader of the Moroccan opposition Abderrahim Bouabid announced here Wednesday that preparations are under way for a summit meeting between Moroccan Monarch Hassan II and Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid.

Bouabid, who is secretary general of the Socialist Union of Popular Parties, added that the meeting will take place at the Algerian-Moroccan borders under the patronage of King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia. He declined to determine an exact date for the meeting, however.

In an interview with KUNA, the Moroccan leader supported the Saudi mediation. "We hope that Algeria would understand that both our countries' future is one," he said and described the Saudi efforts in this respect as praiseworthy and achieved tangible progress.

The secretary of the major opposition party in Morocco said that he will meet with French President Francois Mitterrand on 29 January in Marrakech.

Mitterrand is scheduled to arrive here Friday on an official visit from 27-28 January.

He expressed the hope that the visit, which is the first of its kind, would contribute to finding a solution to pending economic, financial and cultural problems between the two states.

"We have to convince the French audience that the European crises reflects on us as well," he elaborated.

On the Saharan question and the French stance toward it, he said, "We wish France would understand that Morocco is present in the Sahara in accordance with an international agreement passed by the UN," and added "Rabat's acceptance of a public referendum indicates that Morocco pursues peace to end a fabricated issue."

Questioned on his party's stand on the northern towns of (?Ceuta) and Mililla occupied by Spain, Bouabid revealed that negotiations were already established with the Spanish ruling socialist party.

There is a division among the Spanish party, he said, adding that members call for returning the cities to Morocco after solving the problem of 80,000 Spaniards living there while others are reluctant, "still afflicted by the imperialist mentality."

Agreement for continuing the talks between the two parties has been reached, however, he added.

Bouabid disclosed that he met with (?chairman) of the Israeli opposition Labour Party, Shimon Perez, in Lisbon. The meeting which was held at a dinner banquet in 1976 was also attended by Francois Mitterrand and (Austrian Chancellor) Bruno Kreisky.

He expressed his party's readiness to contact the Israeli Labour Party if asked by the PLO, without any preconditions.

He supported, in this respect, contacts between the PLO and Israeli progressive forces describing them as "important" and could instigate a disintegration of the Israeli (?external) political front. [sentence as received]

"Such a dialogue could bolster the peace march and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state," he explained.

Answering a question on Morocco's relations with the U.S., Bouabid highlighted that his country establishes relations with the U.S. to secure arms supplies.

He ruled out the possibility of granting military bases for American troops on Moroccan territory.

Questioned on facilities, he said that Morocco is compelled to agree on military cooperation with the U.S. and gain expertise in the use of armaments, without touching upon the country's sovereignty and neutrality.

Bouabid urged the Arab leaders to approve a comprehensive strategy in backing the Arab peace plan adopted by the Fes summit.

Announcing a desire for peace without a strategy to back it is not enough, he argued.

On his party's internal affairs, the secretary said that his recent meeting with the Moroccan monarch will contribute to improving relations with the government and added that his party's participation in the elections is linked to the release of detainees, return of newspapers and lifting the exceptional status imposed on the party.

He did not rule out the creation of the coalition bloc with other political parties in the forthcoming elections and affirmed the presence of contacts.

He called for amending the eligibility to vote from 21 to 18 years old saying that Morocco's population is 27 million of which half are youths who should not be shelved.

In response to another question on the creation of new parties, Bouabid said that certain elements are interested in strengthening democracy while others are more concerned with their own interests rather than the country's democratic march.

TRIPOLI REPORTS ON 'CAMPAIGN OF ARRESTS' IN TUNISIA

LD291003 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1330 GMT 28 Jan 83

[Text] Student and worker strikes have been sweeping Tunisian towns in protest against the mysterious campaign of arrests waged by the Tunisian authorities against their fellow students, teachers and trade unionists.

Railroad workers in the province of the capital Tunis last week staged a general strike in protest against the expulsion of the university branch of the Tunisian railroads. High school teachers in Tunis last Thursday staged a 2-hour strike in protest against the arrest of their fellow trade unionists. Students of the (Irbiana) High School last Friday staged a general strike and issued antigovernment slogans, against rising prices, particularly in transport and food. Students of the Qabis National Engineering College staged a strike on Monday 17 January for 4 hours and another strike on 19 January in protest against the campaign of arrests against some of their fellow students.

A number of citizens who belong to the Islamic tendency, including students, teachers and workers, have also been arrested.

The arrests took place within the framework of the campaign waged by the Tunisian authorities against the Islamic tendency. As a result of this campaign, the Islamic tendency formed a new executive bureau consisting of four academics and two engineers.

As part of the continued strikes by students of schools and educational institutions, the students of the Al Kaf Teachers College staged a strike and boycotted lessons. Students of the Radis Technical College staged a strike during the second week of this month in protest against the stationing of security forces outside the school. The students on strike chanted: No study under guards. The security forces attacked the students with batons, sticks and tear gas bombs.

At (Kala), a large scale strike was staged against the trial of some local youths on charges of jeering and heckling. They had boycotted a rally held by a town official on 13 January. The strike spread to Al Qayrawan where teachers institutes staged a strike on 11 January.

The Tunisian authorities thereupon shut down the Qafsah Teachers College as of 11 January following a strike by students of the college in protest against the bad conditions a their college and the expulsion of two of their colleges.

The authorities' mishandling of these strikes and the use of force by the police to end them have aroused a wave of general indignation among the Tunisian people.

Wives of Tunisian progressive elements who had been arrested by the Tunisian authorities about 20 days ago have denied reports that these elements have been released. They were arrested on the charge of forming an opposition progressive political organization in Tunisia. These wives told journalists today that their husbands are still in detention, contrary to reports spread by the Tunisian authorities last Saturday about their release.

The wives—(Sarah Jouari), (Siham Bin Fardim), (Jamila Hamdouni), (Halima Gargouri) and (Claudette Fergani)—have appealed to Amnesty International and the International Human Rights Committee to intercede with the Tunisian authorities to secure the release of their husbands who have been illegally detained after being abducted on the street.

BAHRAINI HEIR APPARENT ON ARAB, GULF TOPICS

PM010943 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 29 Jan-4 Feb 83 pp 3-7

[Interview with Bahraini heir apparent Shaykh Hamad ibn 'Isa Al-Khalifah by Wahib Muhammad Ghurab in Manama--date not given]

[Text] [Question] As an Arab official, what is your preoccupation under the present Arab circumstances?

[Answer] My preoccupation is Arab solidarity. In view of the events which have occurred in the Arab world, Arab solidarity, encompassing all the Arab states, is now more necessary than ever. We must achieve Arab accord if we are to be a power capable of meeting the challenges. The differences must be resolved and reconciliations must take place as soon as possible, because reconciliation is very beneficial for our countries and peoples.

[Question] Since we are talking about solidarity, how do you view the role being played by His Majesty King Fahd 1bn 'Abd al-'Aziz in this context?

[Answer] King Fahd has indeed played and is still playing a great and important role. I think that everyone is aware of the efforts he made at the Fes summit conference to promote reconciliation among Arab leaders and achieve general consensus. He did not stop at that. King Fahd continued his good efforts even when he was on vacation. He maintained his contacts with his Arab brothers on these matters. This is why the part played by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will always be great. It represents our feelings as Arabs and our interest in Arab solidarity.

[Question] What is your opinion of the Fes conference as a step toward Arab solidarity?

[Answer] What happened in Fes was really extremely gratifying. The conference achieved its objectives. The Arabs emerged from the conference in agreement and this earned them respect. We must preserve this by proceeding along the same line to command the respect of other states. Division and fragmentation do not earn us respect. As long as every Arab state has its own different opinion, we will appear weak to other states.

[Question] What in your opinion, are the chances for a realistic implementation of the Arab, are plan, and what are the initial results of the Arab seven-member committee's tour? Do they call for optimism?

[Answer] It has been agreed that the Arab peace plan is what is needed in the next phase to put our views across to the world's influential states. The committee formed as a result of the Fes conference has visited the United States, Moscow, and China and will, God willing, visit Britain and other countries. The Arabs have taken this step, and it remains for the other side to take an equal and similar step. As regards the initial results, there is response and understanding, for the simple reason that the Arabs have agreed among themselves and produced ideas representing collective views. That is why these states had to listen to us. It is now a question of completing the tours, meeting to assess the results and then submitting those results to the Arab leaders for consideration. We are optimistic about the initial results of these tours.

[Question] But Britain has refused to receive the committee as long as it includes a PLO representative. What do you think of this attitude?

[Answer] The British attitude, in my opinion, is strange and surprising, especially if we bear in mind that Britain supported the Venice declaration and that there is a PLO office in London. I was surprised when Britain laid down conditions for the committee's visit. Had we known that Britain was going to take that stand, we would not have contemplated sending the committee there.

[Question] There are those who say that the Arab peace plan should be combined with President Reagan's initiative. Do you support this view?

[Answer] The agreement reached was on the Arab plan. I believe that it is the better plan for fulfilling our aspirations and the more suitable plan for establishing peace in the Middle East, because there is Arab agreement on it. As for President Reagan's plan, it contains some positive points and some negotiable points. I believe that this world is built on opportunities. I hope that we will not miss the opportunities to serve our future but make the most of them as far as we can. The Reagan plan is considered a new turning point in U.S. foreign policy, and we should appreciate it.

[Question] There has been much talk recently about the return of parliamentary life to Bahrain. What is new on this matter?

[Answer] The principle of consultation with our sons and people of Bahrain is undoubtedly acknowledged and stated in the Constitution. There is nothing new. It is still a question of timing the restoration of parliamentary life. It depends on the assessment which, I believe, is now being made in every Arab and Gulf country in the light of the security and political circumstances of the region.

[Question] What is your preoccupation in Bahrain?

[Answer] Things are proceeding in the right direction in Bahrain, by God, our preoccupation is to achieve prosperity and stability and fulfill all the social, political and security needs of our region through cooperation with our brothers in the GCC. Our main concern is to achieve more and preserve the gain already made in our region.

[Question] How do you assess the steps you have taken within the GCC toward achieving these targets?

[Answer] What has been achieved to date is quite excellent. The reason is that the Gulf cooperation surge has been based on two main foundations: our leaders' faith in this cooperation and our people's faith in it throughout the region. The foundations on which the GCC states have relied in their approach are strong and solid foundations reflecting the faith of our leaders and our people in their common fate and interlinked interests. This is why the great strides made by the GCC are not surprising. We are not rushing matters. We are taking our time in order to be able to absorb all the programs. We want even better results, and I think we are moving in the right direction.

[Question] And when will economic integration be achieved?

[Answer] The economic agreement concluded by our states provides for the achievement of such integration. We already had economic cooperation, but we in the GCC decided to organize it by coordinating our economic programs and preventing duplication. This we did not have in the past, whereas now there is coordination and participation. Take as an example a project implemented in Bahrain with the participation of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and others. What will the results be? They will be good not only for Bahrain but for all these states. Having joint projects in every state is undoubtedly an excellent step to establish strong and realistic economic links among these states. Just imagine a large number of Bahraini citizens having strong economic links with groups of their brothers in the GCC member states. What would the outcome be? I believe that development would be boosted and stability entrenched in the region.

[Question] In this context, how do you view the bridge linking Bahrain with Saudi Arabia insofar as economic development in the GCC states is concerned?

[Answer] We had many bridges before this one. As you know, this bridge will have great advantages both in boosting economic activities among our states and in promoting links among families in these states. It will enable quicker movement and exchanges of visits. The idea of building the bridge is older than the GCC itself, but its implementation came at the right time. With the completion of the bridge, great steps forward will have been taken in the field of economic cooperation, and the benefits will therefore be great.

[Question] There are priorities in everything. What are the GCC's priorities?

[Answer] We announced several times after the third GCC Summit Conference in Bahrain that the GCC has two main foundations: defense and economic projects, and interinked development and security projects. This is the balance necessary for stability and progress. Furthermore, the formation of the GCC has resulted in political coordination. Take the United States for example. Under the U.S. system only three factors link the states together. They are foreign policy, defense policy and economic policy. What about cooperation among us? We also have the strong links of religion, language and history.

[Question] How do you view the security situation in the Gulf region?

[Answer] We are a part of the Arab nation. We consider the Gulf a strategic region because it constitutes the eastern wing of the Arab homeland. Our region's psoition makes it strategically important for us, for the Arab nation, for the Islamic nation and for those who covet the region. We have therefore been drawing up our defense strategy as a joint strategy with the Gulf states and the fraternal Arab states. The more balance we ensure between the big powers, the more stability we guarantee for our region. Any balance between forces which have influence in the Indian Ocean or the Gulf is desirable. The process of establishing a balance requires a deterrent force built through various types of programs for all our land, air or naval forces based on joint, not unilateral efforts. The meetings held periodically by the GCC defense ministers, military committees or chiefs of staff confirm strongly that we are moving toward an important target, namely the creation of a Gulf deterrent force to protect our people's achievements and confront any attempt to undermine the security of our region.

[Question] Do I conclude from what you said that you have made great strides toward military cooperation among the GCC states?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, but are we satisfied with the steps made? It is difficult to be completely satisfied, because we want more results to cope with the enormous requirements and great challenges. We need all the basic requirements for cooperation. It is difficult to list priorities. You need a joint defense strategy and you need complete economic cooperation to have a strong economy. You also need a unified information policy and strong infrastructures for all sectors. All these are priorities. Still, the strides we have already made in all fields are great. Our aim is to achieve all these objectives at the same time, because God has given us the means.

[Question] What steps have been taken to set up an air defense network for the GCC and unify the army command?

[Answer] As you know, we have had cooperation for a long time, but the question is: What steps have been taken to organize these matters? We have in fact reached an advanced stage of coordination. I can say that we entered the stage of military cooperation among our states. However, defense cooperation takes a long time to complete. We have moved toward unifying our armament and defense programs and toward joint exercises and joint military education programs. The cooperation process is very satisfactory, but how

effective we are today in facing any threat? I believe that we are in a much better position than we were in the past, but the cooperation process still has a long way to go. The building of our forces is a continuing and endless process. What has been said about an air defense network is only a small part of the big program of defense cooperation among our states.

[Question] Does this apply to your policy toward the establishment of a Gulf authority for military industries, and how far are the Gulf countries capable of taking this step?

[Answer] In fact the idea of embarking on a venture like this did not come out of the blue. There are several successful experiments in the Arab homeland and there is a successful experiment within the GCC. One example is the sisterly Saudi Arabian Kingdom's experiment in arms manufacture. The new trend is to evaluate military industrial development with the help of experts in this field in order to learn the real needs of the area. Military industrial development is no easy task. When we think of military industrial development we are talking about a military industry that existed in the past, when the Arab military industrialization authority was established and the Gulf countries were the biggest contributors to it. Thinking now is focused on forming a similar body in the future. No country can embark alone on industrialization. Even the United States cooperates with its friends, such as Japan, in the industrial field.

[Question] Is there agreement among you to refuse to rely on a single source of armament?

[Answer] Yes, there is a general agreement. That is actual fact. You cannot rely on one single factory which could be hit, because that could immobilize you. So diversification is necessary to ensure continuity and good quality.

[Question] Have the Gulf states been able to define the dangers threatening the area?

[Answer] The dangers that threaten the Arab nation are the same dangers that threaten us. Other dangers stem from these dangers which threaten not only us but also the Arab and Islamic nations. The source of this danger is world Zionism; it is the number one danger to us with regard to dividing the world. This division automatically leads to interference by powers in order to dominate—something that could happen with our Arab nation. But we can alleviate these dangers through solidarity. I believe that the GCC is a good example to our Arab brothers; that is, it shows how we could cooperate on a larger scale within groups under the Arab League umbrella.

[Question] The Iraq-Iran war is bound to have its effects on the security of the area. Is there no way out of this war?

[Answer] The only way out is for the war to end; it will end only with the agreement of both sides. Our Arab and Islamic world has shown the desire to end the war, and so has Iraq. It is therefore up to Iran. If it agrees to end the war and enter into negotiations on border demarcation, that will be a

welcome step toward stemming the bloodshed and a good step toward keeping the area out of interpational conflicts. This is what we call for and hope will be achieved.

[Question] Why do you think that Iran is refusing mediation?

[Answer] We are not taking part in the mediation, so we do not know the exact reason for this refusal, but there is no doubt that Iran's internal policy is to continue with the war. God does not change what is in a people unless they change what is in themselves [Koranic verse]. If that war is to stop, it must be stopped by negotiating and by dealing with the situation before it is too late. As for the internal Iranian reasons, they will remain internal, but it is in nobody's interest that they should continue because their continuation is harmful to everybody.

[Question] Some people believe that Iran constitutes a danger to the Gulf. Do you agree with that view?

[Answer] In fact every area of instability constitutes a danger. There is no doubt that instability in Iran constitutes a great danger to the Gulf. A stable and prosperous Iran would be a factor of security and stability for the Gulf. That is all that we hope for.

[Question] Do you subscribe to the view that international parties are behind the continuation of Iraq-Iran war?

[Answer] We would not call them international parties. Rather it is those who benefit from the war and the opportunists that are behind this war. War costs dear, and losses are many and heavy. therefore, no single country can endure it alone and so has to resort to other countries and sources to obtain more equipment and supplies. Consequently the combatant countries find themselves at the mercy of and under pressure from those who provide such support.

[Question] It has been said that the Gulf states adopted new steps at the GCC summit with regard to supporting Iraq.

[Answer] The policy on this matter has been clear. The Manama summit insisted on sto-ping the fighting and negotiating so that we keep the entire area away from international conflicts. With regard to supporting Iraq, Iraq's attitude has been positive. I believe that it is prudent for all attitudes to be positive, because greater dangers exist than those already caused by what is going on between the Gulf states today. This prompts us to try to forget our disputes, because only the enemy benefits from them.

[Question] How can good-neighborly relations be built between the Gulf states and Iran?

[Answer] Relations among the peoples and states of the Gulf have existed since ancient times. Even when the situation between Bahrain and Iran became tense, we respected those relations. Good relations can be established only on the basis of mutual respect for the desires of all.

[Question] How do you view the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations?

[Answer] The decision on this matter concerns Lebanon. But what we ask is that Lebanon should remain integral and that its lawful government be upheld. All the Lebanese should agree as one people and follow the steps of the Arab nation. That is what we are hoping for. We also wish them success in ousting the invaders from their country.

[Question] Do you believe that Israel will withdraw willingly from Lebanon?

[Answer] I do not think that it will be easy. Israel could repeat the same story with any Arab country. Therefore, at this stage we must greatly strengthen joint Arab action. We must learn the lesson of what happened in Lebanon with regard not only to how Arab cooperation should be put also to the question of reliance on foreign powers and must take a new look at it. What is strange with regard to what happened in Lebanon is that Israel is getting a free hand in all its aggressive actions. It is as if there were no big powers or respected powers that could counterbalance this evil in the Middle East. This indeed is damaging to the values which we hear about in statements by officials in the friendly countries or other world countries. We must not forget a major issue which could have adverse effects on the future, namely Israel's possession of nuclear power and the encouragement of instead of opposition to it. In fact this is inhuman and is not a minor issue. The introduction of the nuclear bomb to the Middle East by Israel is a serious matter. If an Arab country seeks to possess a countering force, it will be struck down before that can be achieved, as happened when the Iraqi nuclear reactor was hit, even though it was for peaceful purposes. Giving Israel a free hand does not benefit the region.

[Question] I sense from what you say that you attach a certain blame to the United States.

[Answer] By God, brother, whether it is the United States or Russia or any other power, they all failed greatly with regard to what happened in Lebanon. The Russian reaction did not meet the expectations of the Arab forces in Lebanon. It is as if there had been an agreement on such action. I hope that that is not so. The U.S. attitude was not on the required level either. It is true that there has been a change in the U.S. attitude to Israel, but it does not match the hopes of its friends in the area. However, we hope that a conference will be held, which all the parties will attend and which will solve the problem.

[Question] Do you believe that Lebanon can oust the Israelis without the support of the Arab countries?

[Answer] As I said, Israeli withdrawal is not easy to achieve. The Israelis will not withdraw without Arab support for Lebanon. Lebanon must be given Arab and international support. What happened in Lebanon could be repeated if we remain as we are, without solidarity or cohesion.

[Question] How do you view the Palestinian struggle after what happened in Beirut?

[Answer] During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon the Palestinian stand was brave. The Palestinians fought bravely against a tremendously powerful enemy. Their departure from Lebanon does not mean the end of the struggle to recover Jerusalem and the occupied territories and to establish a Palestinian state. I believe that the current consultations between the Palestinian brothers and Jordan are an excellent step. There should be Arab coordination on all the issues that concern us. Differences should be ironed out and we should seek to implement what we agree on through the Arab League. We should seek to strengthen the Arab League.

[Question] Do you believe that Andropov's coming to power in Moscow could change the Soviet attitude to the issues that concern countries in the area?

[Answer] By God, we wish that a change for the better would take place. At present I believe that the Soviets wish to continue with the policy agreed within their party, that is the Soviet method. We hope that there will be a change in the interests of our cause and our area.

[Question] Do you believe that Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan could be a step toward building confidence in the Soviet Union and its policies?

[Answer] Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is not a condition. The situation with the Soviets was the same in the past as it is today. But by invading Afghanistan the Soviet Union harmed relations with the Islamic countries and the Afghan people; it also violated the principles of peace and international stability agreed [to] at the United Nations. Invasion of countries must be rejected, because I do not think that is a good policy.

[Question] Do you believe that the Gulf states will be the target of aggressive military operations by Israel, as happened in the case of Iraq?

[Answer] As you said, it did happen to Iraq, which is a Gulf state. There is no doubt that we are a target. Therefore we are seeking to build up our military strength in order to confront any aggression of this kind. As you know, the Israeli Air Force is capable of reaching certain targets in our area. The situation calls for balance. This is what we are asking world countries to secure in order to establish peace in the Middle East. It is illogical that military balance should remain lacking.

[Question] Do you believe that such balance can be achieved in the absence of Egypt?

[Answer] Even with Egypt's presence Israeli superiority will remain higher.

[Question] What progress has been made on the question of Egypt's return to the Arabs?

[Answer] In fact, President Mubarak's policy is positive in understanding the needs of the Arab nation. There is no doubt that the coming days will witness significant changes in this regard. We hope that our objective will be achieved, namely that we sit down together and agree once again on our defense and foreign policy. The question is: When will that return take place? We hope that the return will take place in a manner that will satisfy everybody, because this world is founded on the principle of give and take.

CSO: 4400/170

NATIONAL JORDANIAN MOVEMENT CONDEMNS SETTLEMENT PROJECTS

LD291844 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1600 GMT 29 Jan 83

[Text] Tehran, 29 Jan (JANA)--The National Jordanian Movement "the Pan-Arab democratic bloc forces in Jordan" has denounced the capitulationist settlement projects being put forward in the area and the contacts taking place among the reactionary regimes for the implementation of these plans.

In a statement, the movement says that at the time when the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary offensive is gaining unprecedented momentum in the Arab arena, with a view to liquidating national progressive forces, the royalist regime in Jordan has begun to work on the various fronts for the creation of favorable conditions for the implementation of the second stage of the Camp David. This was epitomized in the formation of the so-called Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee.

The movement affirmed that the recent rightist reactionary contacts aim at sneaking the American game and consolidating the liquidationary course as an only option. The reactionaries have been running after false U.S. promises and those of our Arab nation's archenemy.

The statement affirmed that the United States, which reactionary rulers rely on, is the principal enemy of our nation's causes and objectives. All hopes for a change in the American attitude in favor of a just political settlement are no more than illusions, because the U.S. administration's first objective was to penetrate further into the Arab area and impose American domination over our nation's political, economic and military destinies and beseige and abort the national and progressive forces.

The White House policy and the Zionist policy, the movement adds, aim at the liquidation of the national and progressive forces and silencing any voice or movement that opposes the reactionary capitulationist course. The recent waves of arrest of Jordanian National Movement cadres provides the best proof of the gravity and dimensions of the efforts to liquidate our national cause. Crush our national movement and leave the arena free for imperialism, Zionism and their agent reactionary tools.

In its statement the movement affirmed that the grave situation we are now facing demands real examination by Arab revolutionary forces in the Arab

homeland and complete adherence to the revolutionary struggle in practice in order to face up to the dangers threatening our nation's existence and ambitions.

Concluding, the movement affirmed that the answer is no to capitulation, subservience and Reagan's plan and yes to Arab unity of struggle, stead-fastness and opposition of capitulationist plans and solutions.

CSO: 4400/170

KUWAITI PAPER; REACTION TO LIBYAN-IRANIAN-SYRIAN STATEMENT

GF271044 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 25 Jan 83 pp 1, 22

[Dispatch by Khalil Baydun]

[Text] The statement which was issued following the conclusion of the Syrian-Libyan-Iranian discussions—which took place recently in Damascus—is currently the subject under consideration by Arab officials in general and the Gulf countries in particular because this statement represents a challenge to the will of the Arab nation—which was represented in the Fes Summit—and to the Gulf will which aims at ending the Gulf war. This very Gulf will is reflected in Saudi King Fahd's undertaking to follow up the efforts adopted at the Fes Summit to achieve Iraqi—Syrian reconciliation. The Damascus statement is aimed at undermining these efforts.

On this stance, high ranking Gulf sources told AL-ANBA' that the Syrian-Libyan stance came at a time Saudi Arabia was exerting intensive efforts—through the shuttle trips undertaken in the past days by Saudi Crown Prince 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz between Baghdad and Damascus—aimed at narrowing the gap of differences between Syria and Iraq or ending them. This can be attributed to the fact that these differences represent a danger to the Arabs. So the Arabs recognized this danger and adopted in this regard—suitable resolutions at the latest Fes Summit. These differences negatively reflect on the Arab stance on the Iraqi—Iranian war, a war hazardous not only to the peoples of the Gulf but also to the course of events and to the Arab arena which faces a historic and fateful challenge that is represented in the Zionist aggression which is supported by imperialist powers in the world. Moreover, this aggression comes at a time when Lebanon and the Arabs suffer from the dilemma of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and the attempt to subjugate this country.

These sources continued by saying that in light of the latest stance of Syria and Libya, there should be urgent Arab contacts to adopt measures to counter the effects that might emanate from such a stance which contravenes the resolutions of the Fes Summit; these resolutions which stress the implementation of the joint Arab defense pact vis-a-vis the Iraqi-Iranian war.

The sources added that in light of the developments in events, the Iranian stance is expected to become more intransigent toward the efforts which are

aimed at ending the war, particularly Algeria's mediation effort which is an exertion of its utmost in ending the war through the contacts undertaken by its Foreign Minister Ahmad at-Talib al-Ibrahimi with both parties of the dispute during which he presented the utmost possible concessions to end the war with Iran. So the Libyan-Syrian stance is a public undermining of the Algerian mission.

These sources added that they expect that Arab contacts will be held very shortly to discuss this new stance. These contacts will be held first in the Arab Gulf countries in light of the dangers that are posed by this war on the region and on their capabilities in supporting the confrontation countries with Israel in both the financial and the moral aspects. This was expressed by the Gulf countries in [the] latest Fes Summit and it received unanimous Arab response. These sources ruled out the possibility that the other confrontation and steadfastness front countries would support the call-which was included in this statement -- for Iran to join the front. These sources noted that it is illogical that Algeria would support this at a time it is playing a mediation role to end this war especially when it is well informed of the stances of both Iran and Iraq. Moreover, it is ruled out that Algeria would adopt a stance that contradicts with its serious national stances which are known to everybody. The PDRY and the PLO will not accept Iran's inclusion in the front after this call was made at the Damascus meeting, a meeting which Algeria, the PDRY and the PLO decided not to attend.

This tripartite statement announced the formation of a new front which includes Arab countries which engage in aggression against other Arab countries.

CSO: 4400/168

KUWAIT FDITOR SCORES MINISTER ON MARKET CRISIS

GF201157 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 19 Jan 83 p 6

["Opinion" column by Editor in Chief Ahmad al-Jarallah: "Not the Way To Solve the Problem"]

[Text] We respect the ideas and thoughts of the minister of finance and consider him one of Kuwait's generation of economists who have proved their mettle not only in the local arena but also in the international one.

We respect the minister's economic expertise, but it is not necessary to always feasible to apply U.S. methods in Kuwait, just as methods adopted by Germany may not rescue the Indian economy.

We respect the finance minister as a man, but differ with his decisions for many obvious reasons.

If the minister has the right to insist on his decision even if it is opposed by the majority, we also have the right to oppose the decision, because the Constitution guarantees us freedom of expression in the same way as it guarantees the minister the right of replying to his opponents.

We might be mistaken, but the minister can't claim perfection or think that he will never commit mistakes.

Time alone can judge who is right.

We say that the measures and decisions taken to resolve the Manakh crisis are not suitable and will lead, if implemented, to economic catastrophe that will harm hundreds of Kuwaiti businessmen who are the cream of the Kuwaiti economy and were hit badly by the crisis.

The value of the cheques that the clearing house company has in its possession is Kd 27 billion, which equals 18 months' oil income of all GCC countries or the income of Kuwait for 12 years. The original value of these cheques does not exceed Kd 7 billion at the most and if the crisis is settled the value would further decrease. The full value of the cheques would have been accepted but for political and other circumstances—some of which are known and some not.

It is partly the mistake of dealers and partly that of the government.

Conditions made it difficult to pay all the cheques with their exorbitant interest rates. Such rates reached 4,900 percent in some cases.

In the beginning, the Council of Ministers asked the assembly to allow it to solve the crisis by adding an acceptable interest rate to the original value of cheques. But the assembly refused and the reason for its refusal appears to be the tack of the list of figures at the time. Otherwise the assembly might have accepted because it would never agree that citizens of Kuwait should pay interest rates reaching up to 4,900 percent. Of course, we can show this figure to the minister if he wishes.

We know that the minister always likes to apply the law and he can put the blame on those who make the law.

The question is that the original value of cheques does not exceed Kd 7 billion and part of it is due only after two or three years. It is demanded that the cheques should be paid in full now. That means we are making the national economy and many businessmen bear the difference of Kd 20 billion, all of which is exaggerated profits, which even the law does not allow. The law does not permit exaggerated profits of any commodity, exactly like the Islamic Shari'a which prohibits this and terms it usurious interest.

I speak to you your excellency, considering that the problem is yours, and you are the one in charge of it and responsible for it before God and history.

You, more than any one else, know what implementing means, you might have a different view and we may be mistaken, but in our view we think that the measures and decisions you took will serve a few people, those who sold and did not buy.

We are not against punishing those who deserve more punishment, though the government could have intervened long ago instead of just issuing warning.

But believe me, you will find that many of those dealers are merely victims, for some of them do not know even the meaning of a traveller's cheque and do not have much experience.

On the other hand, there are real mischief makers. If you just check the situation of the closed companies and some of the Gulf companies, and you will discover the real mischief makers.

I respect you and your cleverness but I differ with your decisions because I feel they will harm many people.

And believe me, I swear by God that I am not one of them.

You can inquire about my financial condition from the clearing house and you will realise how decreasing the exaggerated values of cheques, which I am

calling for, will do me much harm. I should call for paying the checks in full if I am after a personal interests.

One important point remains. If we calculate their debts we will find that it is possible to pay them in full and hence such people could be excluded from any reduction, we believe reductions should be applied to those big amounts with exaggerated profits.

You can ask people if they want to reduce or not. We realise that there are dealers who are against it but remember that the Chamber of Commerce collected signatures of owners of 86 percent of the money, declaring that they wanted a reduction.

CSO: 4400/168

BRIEFS

EXTRA DUTIES FOR MINISTERS--A decree has been issued entrusting Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and information, with the duties of Minister of Defense Shaykh Salim as-Sabah during the latter's absence abroad. This is in addition to his present duties. Another decree has been issued entrusting Minister of Justice and Legal Administrative Affairs Salman Qu'ayid as-Salman in addition to his own duties with the duties of Oil Minister 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Adhbi during his absence abroad. A third decree has been issued entrusting Minister of Public Works 'Abdallah Dukhayl ar-Rushayd in addition to his own duties with the duties of Minister of Finance and Planning 'Abd al-Latif Yusuf al-Hamad during his absence abroad. [Text] [LD221000 Kuwaiti Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 22 Jan 83]

COMMITTEE REJECTS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT—Kuwait's National Assembly Legislative and Legal Affairs Committee rejected the proposed amendment of the Constitution presented by the government by a majority of six to one and decided to meet next week to review the report it will submit to the National Assembly on the issue. The committee's chairman said yesterday. [Excerpt] [GF281226 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 27 Jan 83 p 5]

NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS CANCELLED—Kuwait, 30 Jan (KUNA)—Kuwait has decided to freeze National Day celebrations this year in view of the current Arab situation and the circumstances under which the Arab nation is undergoing. An official government release said that the decision was reached by the cabinet during a regular session of 23 January. The decision covers cancellation of all official celebrations and receptions both inside the State of Kuwait and by Kuwait embassies abroad on the National Day, which falls due on 25 February. All signs of rejoicing including electrical lighting by the government institutions are also banned under the cabinet decision. [Text] [LD310354

OBSTACLES FACING RELIEF COMMITTEE EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 307 8 Jan 83 pp 38-39

[Article: "Husayn Kin'an, President of the Council of the South: How the Council of the South Became Settled in its New Organization, and How it is Carrying out its Difficult Task of Advancing Monetary Aid to the Victims of the War which the Region has Just Witnessed. All This Highlighted by Dr. Husayn Kin'an, President of the Council"]

[Text] Dr. Husayn Kin'an has been president of the administrative council of the Council of the South in Lebanon since April 1980. The council was established ten years before that date to respond to the needs of the southerners and promote their "safety and confidence." In addition, the council pays compensation to the victims of Israeli aggression. It has also just completed a working plan to deal with the emigration of the southerners and to return them to their homes. The council, which completes what other administrative organs could not do, carries out its work by means of appropriations unlimited by a specific figure, because "there is no budget for the council." Dr. Kin'an, who could be nicknamed 'Dr.'s' Kin'an due to his holding several scientific degrees, has tried since taking over the council to promote its activities according to a modern view of state administration, while working under difficult circumstances, the most prominent of which was the recent war. Here is a dialogue with him:

- Q. What new aspect have you brought to the Council of the South since your appointment as president of its administrative council?
- A. There was a conflict concerning the council's work and role. The government was forced to change the council's structure and authority and therefore granted it independence in its work, so that the tiresome administrative routine in the ministries might be bypassed, and so that it could undertake the duties which had been entrusted to it previously. Before I took over the presidency of the administrative council, the minister of labor and social affairs was president, in effect. The council had been reorganized in order that its independence might be safeguarded and its work stimulated, all this for a period of five years. In addition, continuity in work and responsibility was supposed to be achieved, at a time when the fact that a minister was president of the council prevented

it from achieving continuity, especially since a minister, within our democratic system, cannot possibly remain at his ministry for longer than a few months, a fact which obstructs the activity of the council between the times when he accepts the office and when he lays it down. In addition, there is the instability in administrative relationships.

In my capacity as president of the new council, I have been granted complete authority concerning its administrative pyramid, from top to bottom. Thus, it will be possible to consider me as either a failure or a success during the period in which the activity of the council is entrusted to me. This is a modern administrative system similar to the American one, which connects success or failure with the president and precludes the exploitation of ones office fot the sake of cronies, proteges and others. I was chosen and appointed on the basis of my scientific abilities on the one hand and because I am from the Biqa' and so not tied directly to the people of the south. Thus, the council is kept free from personal services and ties.

- Q. Since taking over the presidency of the council, what have you done to apply this administrative concept in the service of the Lebanese, especially the southerners who have suffered from the Israelis' aggression?
- A. I have tried since 1980, that is, since accepting the presidency of the council, to see to it that the relationship of the southern citizens to the council is direct and without intermediaries, within the framework of the general national service. This means that the average Lebanese citizen has been able to link himself directly to the institutions, a fact which impels him to grant his loyalty to the national institution instead of a political boss. Consequently, the citizen's loyalty is to the fatherland, and not to a boss or intermediary. This is what we want to occur in the other official administrations, as a way of consolidating this relationship which exists between the citizen and his fatherland, directly and without any intermediary.

In order to apply this principle, deserved compensation has been issued in check form to individuals in the south if it has proven difficult for them, by reason of incapacity or illness, to make it to the council's offices to collect their compensation. In this way, I put a stop to the process whereby some would act as representatives for many others who had suffered harm and so collect their compensation. The idea of delegating someone as your representative in this new way had led previously to the committing of many offenses, some of which reached the stage of forgery by means of using phoney names to collect monetary compensation as someone's 'representative'. Some of these illegal matters have been referred to the judicial authorities for judgement.

Moreover, seven council offices distributed over five districts have been opened. The districts are: Sidon, Nabatiya, Tyre, Marj'Uyun, Bint Jubayl, Hasbayya and Jazzin. This has been done to make it easier to deal with the citizens and so that they will not be compelled to go to Beirut every time they need something done, and so have to bear a financial burden in getting there.

In addition, the council, within its new organization, has undertaken to raise the proportion of compensations. In the past, the sum of 2000 lira used to be issued for damage to buildings, and 8000 for total destruction. After the agreement of the cabinet was obtained, compensations began to reach the level of 15,000 lira for damages and 45,000 at the least, for a destroyed housing unit. Moreover, compensation for a death, only 10,000 lira during the period of aggression, is now 25,000. As far as the wounded are concerned, 25,000 lira are payed the wounded individual in compensation for his permanent incapacitation and for medical treatment.

- Q. What did you do for the south and for Lebanon during the recent war?
- A. The only institution which moved to the south during the war was the Council of the South. The council set up a permanent headquarters in Sidon, and immediately began to pay out gradual assistance in the following manner: 5000 lira for a damaged house and a similar amount for a death. This was a first step in the way of compensation. In addition, 50,000 lira was payed to the fishermen of Tyre and a similar amount to the fishermen of Sidon, who were unable to practice their work during the war. It is possible to estimate the magnitude of the damages and the number of citizens who were killed in the war by considering the sum which we payed in the prior period: 8 million lira to the people of Tyre, 10 million to the people of Sidon and 2,200,000 lira to the people of Jazzin.
- Q. What are you doing for the south now that the war has ended?
- A. We undertook many different activities in the health field before the war and we have continued them in its aftermath. In the health area we undertook the construction of several clinics, some of them ready and some still under construction at this point. We also finished construction of the Nabatiya clinic, in cooperation with the ministry of health in the matter of starting it up.

Furthermore, a study has been done in cooperation with the EEC on building a hospital in Hasbayya. The cost of building it is 15 million lira. The hospitals of Jazzin and Marj'Uyum are currently being repaired. In addition, the council is administering the hospitals of Tibnin and Tyre, since it is paying the salaries of their employees.

In the field of education, the council is repairing and refurbishing 105 schools which were hit or destroyed during the war in the south. Some of them have been restored and began to hold classes again at the start of the academic year. As for the remainder, their reconstruction will be finished at the beginning of the new year.

In the field of electricity, we have signed a protocol with the department of electricity in the ministry of resources with a value of 8.5 million lira for the illumination of those places in the south without electricity. In addition, the council has built water storage tanks and helped to extend waterpipe networks. As far as roads go, we are cooperating with the ministry of public works to implement those things the ministry is unable to do. As for the council's second big step, it will be to draw up a plan to rebuild trade schools and official schools in the villages of the south.

- Q. The war caused an earthquake in Lebanon. What have been its effects on the council?
- A. In my opinion, the task of the council has not changed. But I do see the necessity of developing the task of the Council of the South so that it encompasses all Lebanon, because all the regions of Lebanon have been damaged, especially Beirut. If we go back to the basic law of the Council of the South, we find that its activity is meant to encompass all of Lebanon. The problem is that while the law does permit me to extend compensation to those who have suffered harm in Beirut, for example, the financial ordinances prevent this. We do not need a new law to develop the council. Rather, we need only permit the council to apply the essence of the law.

As far as we are concerned, we have set up a new administrative organization with the goal of stimulating and organizing the council's work by expanding its cadre. The new organization relies on the modern system which is based on our past experiences in administering the council, in cooperation with the former minister of administrative reform, Professor Sami Yunis.

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CSO: 4404/188

KUWAITI PAPER INTERVIEWS PLO OFFICIALS

GF011726 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 31 Jan 83 p 23

[Interview with Faruq Qaddumi, in Alias Abu al-Lutf, head of the PLO Political Department, and Sulayman ash-Shurafa', in alias Abu Tariq, Fatah representative to Libya, at Kuwait Airport on their arrival on 30 January 1983]

[Text] [Question] What are the dimensions of the resolutions of the [PLO] executive committee's meeting which were made in Aden?

[Abu al-Lutf] No doubt the basic resolutions revolved around the reinforcement and fostering of the Palestinian national unity and the preparations for the next Palestine National Council [PNC] [meeting] on 14 February. No doubt these resolutions included the increase of the number of PNC members. The executive committee met to get acquainted with the progress made by the subcommittee on preparations for the next PNC meeting.

[Question] There is a Palestinian decision to intensify the military operations inside the occupied territories. How can this decision be implemented at the current stage?

[Abu al-Lutf] The military officials must implement it. When the revolution started, it did not have the facilities and potential available now. It is not difficult for the Palestinian revolution's military forces to implement this decision because there is still an Israeli presence in Lebanon. The revolution's operations against this presence will continue and escalate, apart from the operations which can be carried out inside the occupied territories. Our people and revolutionary forces are there and it is not difficult for these forces to escalate their armed struggle inside the Palestinian territory.

[Question] Can it be said that a great part of the Palestinian house has been rearranged before the PNC session?

[Abu al-Lutf] Many meetings and discussions were held to put the Palestinian house in order, in other words, to find a framework for projecting all the Palestinian stands which the revolution might take in the future. All these matters will be discussed during the PNC session to elevate and improve the policy the PLO will adopt on all issues and relations which the cause has

produced with various forces and countries and widen the recognition of the PLO and the Palestinian people's rights by the world's countries.

[Question] What about Abu 'Ammar's [Yasir 'Arafat's] meeting with the Lebanese prime minister?

[Abu al-Lutf] There will be a meeting between Abu 'Ammar and the Lebanese prime minister besides that of today. During this meeting, issues pertaining to relations between Lebanon and the PLO will be discussed. This meeting will necessarily discuss many issues concerning the Palestinian presence in Lebanon after the events in Lebanon and after the Israeli invasion. Undoubtedly, discussion bilateral relations and assisting Lebanon in the way it likes is very necessary at this stage.

[Question] What is your view of King Husayn's involvement in the current negotiations between Lebanon, Israel and the United States?

[Abu al-Lutf] This is Lebanon's issue. If Lebanon sees that it is necessary to involve other parties for assistance, that is its decision.

[Question] What about the recent statements made by 'Isam as-Sartawi? Do you have any comment?

[Abu al-Lutf] I do not have any comment on the statements of 'Isam as-Sartawi because I did not read or hear them.

[Question] Hani al-Hasan denied them.

[Abu al-Lutf] If brother Hani al-Hasan denied them, no doubt his denial is true.

[Question] What about Libyan-Palestinian relations?

[Abu Tariq] These relations must be an advanced line of struggle in the Arab world and the revolutionary relations between them must be very good. They must also be relations of cohesion and a common fate. These relations are rather tepid at this stage and I have a great hope that we will succeed in making them very warm.

[Question] It was said some time ago that Libya is ready to create a nucleus of a state in its territory. What is your comment?

[Abu Tariq] This happened last year. There was a popular meeting on the 15 May occasion which was attended by brothers Abu 'Ammar, Abu Iyad and Abu al-Lutf in which Libya proposed to form the provisional Palestinian government and expressed readiness to meet all commitments to this government. I still remember the words which the brother Libyans spoke: "We are completely ready to face the consequences if Israel considers dealing blows." However, this idea was not accepted by the Palestinian revolution's leaders. Brother Abu 'Ammar's reply was: This issue concerns the PNC and I do not lead a herd

of cattle. Rather, I lead the civilized Palestinian people who adhere to democracy. So far no certain decision or policy has been made on this move.

[Question] Is there an intention to establish a Palestinian government-in-exile at present?

[Abu Tariq] I do not imagine this.

[Question] Any reasons?

[Abu Tariq] You know this. Do not ask me questions that make me lose my nerve because you are more aware of our Arab situation in general and of the circumstances in which the Palestinian revolution fought bitterly when everybody was convinced that the Palestinian revolution should not have fought alone. That is why this question is premature.

[Question] Do you have any comment on the Tripoli declaration?

[Abu Tariq] Yes, any declaration or meeting that concerns the Palestinian revolution's leadership and the Palestinian people in which the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, do not participate, will never affect the Palestinian revolution's march because this march takes its course in its revolutionary struggle line and will never deviate from this line.

[Question] Is there any military cooperation between the PLO and Libya at present?

[Abu Tariq] There are bilateral relations between Libya and some factions. Relations with the PLO are now tepid and we hope this will come to an end.

[Question] What is the fate of the weapons which Libya sent to the resistance in Lebanon?

[Abu Tariq] When?

[Question] Before the war?

[Abu Tariq] In truth, many weapons were sent to the various factions and to the Lebanese national movement before the war. I do not know anything about their fate.

[Question] Did the Libyans really fight on the side of the resistance in Lebanon?

[Abu Tariq] The Libyans who were in lebanon fought. There were Libyan volunteers and units and they fought according to their capability.

[Question] Did the Libyan and Palestinian volunteers from Libya arrive in Lebanon?

[Abu Tariq] I was in charge of the Palestinian volunteers. The number of those selected was from 750 to 800 or five airplane loads. As for Libyan volunteers, I do not remember their number or how they arrived.

PALESTINIAN COMMANDER INTERVIEWED BY AMMAN DAILY

JN250835 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 25 Jan 83 pp 1, 17

[Nabil 'Amr Dispatch]

[Text] Aden--Col Na'im al-Khatib, the commander of the Palestine Liberation Army forces in Jordan--the Badr Forces--has praised Palestinian-Jordanian relations, emphasizing the importance of drumming up the fraternal ties between the two peoples, as this, along with the unity of their objective, would enable them [to] fend off the common danger and face the common fate.

In an exclusive statement to AD-DUSTUR on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the start of the Palestinian revolution, the celebrations of which are being held in Aden with the participation of units belonging to the Badr Forces, Al-Khatib said that this occasion is a challenge for all the conspiratorial forces which believed that the revolution was finished militarily following its departure from Beirut.

Col Na'im al-Khatib explained that the military parade in which some of the revolution's factions and groups representing Palestinian and Jordanian popular organizations and various sectors are participating, is the true answer to the attempts which aim to sow intrigues among the resistance factions. The parade, he added, represents real cohesion expressing the will of the Palestinian people to regain their national and legitimate rights and to rally around their historic leadership, the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, led by leader struggler Yasir 'Arafat, the commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces.

Colonel al-Khatib called on the Arab nationa to realize the gravity of this stage in which the Palestinian revolution faces the most vicious Zionist-imperialist onslaught which seeks to strike at the Arab land, people and history. However, he affirmed that the Arab nation has always been capable of forging ahead despite all plots.

UAE PAPER INTERVIEWS PALESTINIAN ENVOY TO IRAN

GF221808 Al-Sharigah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 22 Jan 83 p 15

[Interview with Salah al-Zawawi, Palestinian ambassador to Iran, by AL-KHALIJ editors during his recent visit to the UAE--date not given]

[Excerpts] AL-KHALIJ: What are the developments of the Palestinian-Iranian relations? What do you see as the real basis of preserving these relations to serve the interest of the Palestinian cause and Arab-Iranian relations?

Al-Zawawi: The Palestine cause is an active part of the Iranian people's conscience; liberating the holy lands from the occupation of the Zionist invaders remains the constant dream of these people. These people express on every occasion their close links with the Palestinian cause and their anxiousness to liberate Jerusalem and all occupied Palestinian territories. For the people in Iran, Palestine is an Islamic territory for whose sake jihad had to be launched to liberate it and this is the duty of all Muslims. [passage omitted]

The ups and downs in the relations between the two revolutions were a natural result of not channelling these relations and not placing them on a special foundation based on the conditions of each of the two revolutions. [passage omitted]

I have frequently asked the brother officials in the Islamic revolution to form a supreme coordination committee to review the past and future of these relations and attainable goals by objectively channelling these relations in a way that will rise above the current state of emotionalism to reach objective and viable facts in view of a mutual understanding of the nature, conditions and characteristics of the two revolutions.

AL-KHALIJ: The Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples faced a war of liquidation. What was the nature of the Iranian stand toward this war and the Islamic revolution's aid to you?

Al-Zawawi: This U.S.-Zionist war serves to demonstrate the deep links between the Muslim Iranian people and the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. Let all Muslims and Arabs know that 180 majlis members volunteered to fight and that only in the holy city of Qom alone 30,000 people volunteered not to mention the volunteers in other cities; many Iranian fighters on the front expressed readiness to join the Palestinian and Lebanese strugglers in their holy war to repulse the Zionist invaders and foil and eliminate the aggression. [passage omitted]

PLO OFFICIAL DENIES LEADERSHIP RIFT

GF251743 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1300 GMT 25 Jan 83

[Text] Doha, 25 Jan (WAKH)--Dr Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajani, PLO executive committee member, has said armed struggle will be the basis for Palestinian fighting on the condition that this should rise to the level of the enemy's strength and that new methods should be employed to reach political results that serve the Palestinian issue.

During his meeting with a group of Palestinian youth at the PLO office in Doha, Dr Al-Dajani denied there is a rift in the Palestinian leadership. He said: Variety and diversity of visions is a basis for action in the Palestinian leadership.

Referring to the peace initiatives which have been proposed on the Middle East issue, he said: Palestinian fighting has forced the United States to change its policy on the Palestinian problem, which was evident when the U.S. peace plan recognized the Palestinian right and issue.

He lauded Palestinian-Soviet relations and emphasized the role Egypt is playing in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the need to continue efforts to remove all that might affect the Palestinian-Syrian relations.

WAR IN LEBANON, LESSONS OF WAR REVIEWED

Beirut SHU'UN FALASTINIYAH in Arabic Aug-Oct 82 pp 5-17

[Article by Faysal Hurani: "The 3 Months' War and the Number That Could Not Be Eliminated"]

[Text] The longest and the most devastating Arab-Israeli war, with regard to the sizes and kinds of weapons used and also with regard to the magnitude of the ensuing destruction and loss in human lives, was fought over the territory of Lebanon between early June and early September 1982.

During and after these 3 months the war attracted local, Arab and international attention in a manner hitherto unprecedented in the history of the Arab-Zionist struggle. This occurred despite the fact that two other wars were being fought at the same time: the war between Iran and Iraq and the war between Britain and Argentina. Scores of international crises had also flared up. Among these were major crises that would have engrossed [the public's] attention had they not been outweighed by news of the war in Lebanon.

In this article we will try our best to review, even in a preliminary manner, the Palestinian view of what happened in those 3 months.

We will also try to get a grip on the most important conclusions that the Palestinian side was able to reach. We are affirming in advance that until the writing of these lines, "the vicious circle of the crisis" is still affecting everyone. The time has not come yet when it would be possible to say and deal with everything with total candor and objectivity.

A Determined Invasion and a Prepared Plan

It may be said at the outset that the Palestinian leadership was not surprised by Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Quite the contrary, PLO leaders had information months before the invasion affirming that the invasion plan had been made and that preparations for carrying out the invasion had been completed. PLO leaders were certain that the invasion plan and the preparations that were necessary for it were discussed in the course of U.S.-Israeli communications, which were carried out in the context of what was called strategic cooperation between the two countries. Those who had made the preparations for the operation were merely waiting for suitable conditions to begin executing it.

It may also be said at the outset that Palestinian leaders did not want to become engaged in a full-scale war with Israel on Lebanese territory. Therefore, the purpose of the conduct they pursued was to avoid exacerbating the situation and to deny the Israelis an opportunity to find a convincing reason that they would use as an excuse to begin their attack. In this regard Palestinian leaders did everything possible. Their most prominent action was their close adherence to their commitment to the cease fire on Lebanese territory in accordance with the agreement that had been reached in this regard in July 1981. When Israel repeatedly carried out military provocations to drag the Liberation Organization into making a broad response, the organization's leaders avoided responding to the provocation. But in the few instances when this was not possible, the Palestinian response was painstakingly calculated. In any case that response did not go beyond the boundaries of a warning which affirmed that Palestinians were prepared for a confrontation if that was to be imposed on them.

Also at the outset--and this may be said a third time--Palestinians realized unmistakably that Israel will attack Lebanon and that Palestinian activity was not the only factor related to Israel's motives for the attack. The Palestinians were certain that these motives stemmed from other Israeli and American considerations. Although it was certain that weakening or eliminating the PLO in Lebanon was a common objective for U.S. and Israeli policies, both sides had other objectives for the attack, together and separately. These had to do with the U.S. desire for total hegemony over the Middle East. The United States wanted to strike the foundation of the Arab rejection of the Camp David Accords. It wanted to go after the Soviet presence in the region, to liquidate anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist positions and to arrange conditions in Lebanon so as to make that country lose its position as a country where similar Palestinian, national Lebanese and Arab struggles are drawn together. Lebanon was to be changed to the opposite of that: it was to become a base for U.S. and Israeli influence which would spill over into the region to affect Syria and other countries in the Middle East.

It is certain that the primary target of the war that Israel waged was the Liberation Organization itself as well as the forces it attracts, the political and social struggles it spurs and the example it sets of the effectiveness of a small group in the face of imperialist-Zionist power attempting to impose its domination over the Middle East. The war was waged on the basis of the fact that the elimination of the organization in Lebanon was the key to realizing the other objectives of the war. Without it, that is, without the elimination of the organization's presence, these objectives could not be achieved.

In light of all this, Israel's invasion of Lebanon did not come as a surprise. American support for Israel and considered American action to cover up America's new aggression did not come as surprises either.

Surprises That Were not Taken into Account

Events of the invasion and reactions to it revealed a number of surprises that Palestinians had not previously taken into account when they were making their preparations to counter the anticipated invasion. Among those surprises were three that can be discussed now. The first one became evident when Israeli forces were not impeded at all in crossing the area in south Lebanon where UN forces are

located. It was thought that the UN forces, which had been charged by the United Nations with the task of preserving the peace and preventing aggression, would hinder, if not [acto 'lv] resist, the progress of Israel's troops for some time. So far it is still not understood why Israeli troops were not hindered at all when they penetrated the area where UN troops are located. Something has been said about collusion between Israel and one of the parties of the UN force.

The second surprise became evident when Israeli troops, in the second week of the war, moved east of the line where they were stationed on the coast and invaded the hilly region of al-Shuf, encountering no resistance to speak of. The ease with which al-Shuf was invaded enabled Israeli forces to accelerate their control over the Beirut-Damascus Highway after short-lived clashes with Syrian units that were in that area as an Arab deterrent force. Israel thus cut the principal supply line to the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces who were resisting the invasion. After linking their lines with the Lebanese forces that are led by Lebanon's Phalangist Party, the invaders were able to tighten their siege on West Beirut. Coming from the coastal line and from the mountains, they applied themselves to tightening their hold on the city.

The third surprise manifested itself when the hollow nature of the promises of support which the Liberation Organization had previously received from a number of Arab countries became evident. Some of these promises were not carried out at all. Others were carried out in a manner that did not at all meet the needs set by the magnitude of the invasion, the size of Israel's forces and the weapons that were used by these forces. The foot-dragging that took place in offers of support in some cases and the retraction of that support in others led to a situation in which joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces had to use their limited means to fight an attacking army of more than 100,000 whose equipment was superior and in no way comparable to that of those who were resisting it. In addition, the invading army had full control over the air and the sea.

It is this reason in particular, more than any other, that had the decisive effect in dictating the use of an evasive method of combat. This was based on fighting tenaciously as long as possible in targeted locations and directing as much effort as possible to hinder the progress of the attackers and inflict the heaviest human and material losses in their ranks. At the same time an effort was to be made to arouse the broadest Arab and worldwide condemnation possible against the aggression so as to improve the negotiating position of the Liberation Organization and its allies.

Competence in Confrontation

This combat method was executed with memorable competence. With a few exceptions the locations of the joint forces remained steadfast as they were bombarded from land, from the air and from the sea. Their steadfastness exceeded all expectations, particularly the expectations of those who led the invasion. Initially, they had thought that their operation would last only a few days; they thought the Palestinian Resistance and the national Lebanese resistance would collapse quickly so as to allow Israel to pursue the scattered army of that resistance and liquidate it completely. Israel would then easily dictate its political and security conditions. Contrary to their expectations, Israeli forces found themselves facing a highly determined will to fight. They found themselves over almost 3 months caught in a crossfire that was gradually consuming their equipment, their men and the morale of their units.

The fact that Israel was denied [its wish] to realize its objectives in a few days generated the broadest domestic opposition that Israel ever had against any of its wars. It also set off a set of international reactions that affected the course of the war: there was more appreciation for the Liberation Organization and for the heroism of its fighters and more condemnation of the invasion. Thus, the steadfastness of the organization's fighters and their allies in the Joint Forces and the fact that this steadfastness was sustained for periods that exceeded the expectations of foes and friends generated on the local, Arab and international scenes a climate that was clearly sympathetic to the defenders and opposed to the invaders. The barbaric nature of the invasion was decisively condemned. Because Israel's Likud government became involved in the war promising that it would end it in the shortest period of time and with the least losses in the ranks of its forces and because what it had hoped for in both cases did not materialize, the Likud government became more deeply involved in the war and proceeded to commit fresh troops and new weapons into this war and to strike [its targets] with cruelty hoping to bring about a quick end to this war. In addition to setting off a heroic resistance, the action of the Likud government was followed by new local, Arab and international reactions that were not favorable to the invaders. All this culminated in the creation of two major crises for the Likud government. The first crisis was a domestic one that became more intense and broader until it turned into a full-scale division in Israeli public opinion. The second crisis was a foreign one, and it affected U.S.-Israeli relations. It came about when the United States, which is the only country of some influence that supported Israel, realized that Israel's war against Lebanon and against the Palestinian people was placing the United States in a critical position in front of the whole world and was threatening U.S. interests in the Middle East.

The fact is that in all cases the United States was the only country that supported Israel in the face of a sweeping world-wide condemnation in which countries and parties traditionally supportive of Israel took part. This became most evident when the United States became the only country that voted against resolutions condemning Israel which were issued one after the other by the UN Security Council. All members of the Security Council, including the United State's NATO allies, had voted for these resolutions. This also became evident when France initiated an international action against the invasion that was not consistent with the American action. France presented a draft resolution to that effect to the UN Security Council, and it conducted official and direct negotiations with officials in the PLO to consult and coordinate [efforts] with them. On this matter in particular France separated itself completely from the American position which refuses to have any contact with the organization.

Of all the other results of the perseverance of the Liberation Organization in opposing the invasion, the one that may be the most firmly established is this: it has become unequivocally clear that the Liberation Organization is one of the significant parties in the Middle East;, that it is intractable; that it cannot be exterminated; and that it is capable of assuming responsibility and making decisions on any level as the undisputed representative of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied land. Although Israel's invasion of Lebanon was, among other things, the largest and the most vicious attempt to wipe out the Liberation Organization from the picture in the Middle East, its abysmal failure to realize that objective or to persuade anyone that this objective was achievable firmly established the true importance of the organization and the worthiness of its role. Israel's invasion did not abolish the organization and its role.

The Political Consequences of a Competent Opposition

With the passage of the surprises and consequences of the war were becoming evident, one after the other, even before the invading forces tightened their siege on the city of Beirut. When the siege was tightened and the hope for Arab military aid vanished, Israel's war machinery concentrated on the besieged city and proceeded [to act] in a frenzy of destruction. It showered 25,000 buildings in West Beirut with over half a million missiles and bombs from the air, the sea and land. Opposition to this attack and the unparalleled courage of the resistance indicated most clearly the credibility of the Liberation Organization which would not yield to Israel's blackmail and refused to surrender unconditionally as Israel had wished. The extent to which the Palestinian masses and the Lebanese national masses rallied around the organization became evident when these masses endured this tremendous amount of destruction without complaining. In fact, the masses strengthened the organization's resolve and offered the fighters moral and material support to help them conduct negotiations that would break the siege in a manner whereby the leaders would not be forced to accept terms for surrender under the pressure of a threat that the steadfast city would be totally destroyed.

If we want to discuss the valiant resistance of the fighters and unarmed citizens of West Beirut, it will not be possible to list all aspects of this stead-fastness, no matter how detailed our discussion gets. West Beirut was a city besieged from the sea, from land and from the air by invading forces that controlled all the means of delivering ammunition, weapons, supplies and medicines to the city. These forces deprived the city of water and electricity and showered it daily with tens of thousands of missiles even as direct clashes occurred incessantly at crossing points, entry points and on the shores. Suffice it to say that the defense of West Beirut placed the battle of Beirut on the list of major battles that were fought throughout the history of the human race to defend freedom, national honor and progressive human values in their fullest form and meaning. Every fair-minded person anywhere in the world who is concerned about these values can now add the battle of Beirut to the Paris Commune, the siege of Stalingrad and all the other battles that have inspired subsequent generations of freedom fighters.

The direct effect of Beirut's steadfastness on the course of the war became evident militarily. It confirmed the conviction that it would be impossible for the invading army to enter the city without suffering tremendous losses and effecting the total destruction of the city. Consequently, this intensified domestic opposition and, of course, also international opposition to this invasion. This became evident politically in the talks that took place to break the siege and [secure] the departure of the organization's fighters from the besieged city. Although Israel had directed its efforts to eliminate the fighters--it had given them a choice between death and unconditional surrender and had hoped to add to that the departure of all Palestinians from all of Lebanon--Israel was now forced to enter into lengthy and difficult negotiations during which the organization held on to its position of agreeing to get its fighters out of Beirut to protect the city from total destruction, provided that Israeli forces too remain outside the city and provided that their departure from the city be followed by Israel's withdrawal from the outskirts of the city. The organization stipulated that Palestinian fighters were to leave Beirut as fighters who are recognized as such and that they have international guarantees not only for their safety but also

for a continued international search, in which the organization would be a party, for a suitable solution to the Palestinian question. Contrary to Israel's wishes, negotiations were confined to breaking the siege of Beirut and to bring about the departure of Palestinian fighters who were in Beirut, but not the departure of those who were in other areas of Lebanon.

Because the steadfastness in Beirut emphasized the earnestness and high competence of the resistance and because of the rights derived from this steadfastness to all those who wanted the evacuation of Israeli troops from Lebanon, the position of the Liberation Organization received broad local support from the parties of the Islamic rank and from numerous Christian parties. In addition, it received the full support of the Lebanese National Movement. The organization also found understanding and support from all the countries of the world without exception, even though the degrees of this support and this understanding varied. The position of the Soviet Union and the remaining countries of the socialist organization was firm and unambiguous in supporting the demands of the Liberation Organization and the Lebanese National Movement. Concrete progress was realized in the positions of a number of capitalist countries. Chief among them was the position of France which played an active role, within its capabilities, to bring about the success of the negotiations over breaking the siege [of Beirut], to bring about an honorable departure for the Palestinian fighters and to provide the protection and guarantees that can be provided for the security of other Palestinians who were to remain in Beirut and neighboring camps. To that effect, the countries of the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Countries, the Organization of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity have collectively affirmed their traditional positions of support for the demands of the Liberation Organization.

The Results in a Palestinian Context

In a purely Palestinian context the 3 months' war, which is the second largest Palestinian-Israeli war after the 1947-1948 war, produced unity in the Palestinian position that had not been previously realized under any other condition. Such forceful and all-encompassing unity may not be realized except in a similar situation. Full unity was achieved among the fighters and the military command; consequently, decisions, operations management, services and execution were streamlined. While Yasir 'Arafat, general commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution and chairman of the organization's Executive Committee assumed direct supervision over military and political battles, the Central Operations Room assumed its duties with regard to all combat units, regardless of their organizational affiliation. [At the same time] the secretaries general of groups worked alongside Yasir 'Arafat as one political team, and all the decisions that were issued were unanimous. As several sources indicated, what was accomplished to strengthen national unity in those 3 months exceeded everything that had been accomplished through efforts that had been made in previous years. Naturally, this new achievement would not have been realized merely because of the conditions of the war, had not the groundwork been prepared for it beforehand. That is, this would not have been achieved if the broad common margins around which everyone agrees had not been available and if the differences between the principal trends of the Palestinian National Movement had not been narrowed as a result of their lengthy common action, as a result of the given factors of the realistic experiences they've had alone or together and as a result of the democratic dialogue that has characterized relations on the Palestinian scene.

Another product of the war is one we already referred to; it would be helpful to go back and ponder it with some detail. [We are talking about] the strong alliance between Palest mians and the Lebanese National Movement. The unity of the Palestinian and Lebanese National positions became evident; it was strengthened in the course of the war and the political battle that accompanied it and in the course of the minor and major decisions that were made. The significance of this outcome goes beyond the significance of the conditions of the situation in which it developed. This is because the effect of this outcome would have to be extended and applied to the future development of Palestinian-Lebanese relations in their entirety. Although the PLO found itself at odds with some Lebanese parties because of the conditions of Lebanon's civil war, the conditions of the Arab-Israeli struggle, the surrounding conditions of agreeing or conflicting Arab interests in Lebanon and the overlapping of all this, the survival, growth and consolidation of these relations with parties of the National Movement, the effectiveness of this in opposing Israel's occupation of Lebanon in particular and then its effect on influencing the decision of the Palestinian Resistance to leave Beirut to spare it from destruction and to spare Lebanon further complications and problems will serve to confirm the positive image of the constructive cooperation between Palestinians and Lebanese. It would also give other Lebanese parties an incentive to get rid of the negative factors that are holding them captive and to pay attention to the deep interests that bring the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people together. The first of these interests is that which the people of Lebanon and the people of Palestine have in confronting the multi-faceted threats of Israel. The effect of this outcome will also reinforce the tendency of Palestinians to strengthen their alliances in the future in Lebanon and in other Arab countries by making these alliances with representatives of popular forces and not necessarily with the regimes, and by setting them up on the basis of confronting Israel and Zionism.

In other words, the experience that we acquired from the war of Lebanon shows that alliances that are likely to withstand difficult conditions are only those that are based on the constant and deep-seated interests of the popular forces. They are the alliances that are forged with the representatives of these forces in particular. But those alliances which are dictated on one side or another by unexpected factors, demagogic impulses or pragmatic considerations will provide the Liberation Organization with no help when it is put to a difficult test.

Facts and Illusions on the Arab Scene

Accordingly, and as a result of what interests and not illusions dictate, many Lebanese forces emerged who welcomed, accepted or overlooked the Israeli invasion. In saying this we are not referring exclusively to certain circles in particular in the Phalangist Party or to the groups that are led by Sa'd Haddad. We are rather referring to several other circles that include the Lebanese Front and others who for various reasons were inclined to cooperate with Israel and its invading forces or to accept their presence. This is because they assumed that Israel's invasion would be the only action that would get Palestinian guerillas and Syrian troops out of Lebanon. Eventually, the invasion would cause Lebanon to extricate itself from its ties with the Palestinian question and other Arab questions and regain its full, unhampered freedom to establish ties with the West.

Of all the numerous Arab-Israeli wars this war stands out as the one in which prestigious parties and personalities supported in one way or another Israel's

invasion of their country. In fact, some of them considered the invasion an action to liberate and save Lebanon. Support for the invasion [in Lebanese circles] was due either to the role that the invading forces played in bringing about the departure of PLO forces and Arab Deterrent Forces from Lebanon, or it was due [to the belief that] the invasion would bring about a change in the balance of social and political forces in Lebanon which is founded on obvious class attitudes.

In previous wars the interests of Arab forces which benefited from Israel's power and its role against progressive national tendencies used to reveal themselves in a roundabout way: their contributions to the confrontation were weak. They took advantage of the presence of an Israeli threat to intensify oppression [in their countries] and overburden the masses, and they advocated capitulation under the pretext of being realistic. They used other methods of this kind. But in this war interests were blatantly articulated, and in the cases we are discussing, there was no beating about the bush whatsoever.

The background of this change in expression was provided by the precedent Egypt had set. Egypt's president, Anwar al-Sadat deserves "the credit" for being the first one to articulate the interests of Arab reactionaries with Israel. Because al-Sadat's action broke the barriers of national modesty behind which people like him used to hide, those people who wanted to normalize relations with Israel and to benefit from its role against their foes were no longer afraid of showing [their wishes]. If the Camp David policy was that which generated conditions for the success of Israel's military invasion of Lebanon and for weakening Arab reactions against it, it was also the policy that gave some Lebanese forces the opportunity to show openly their support for the invasion and to express their wish to benefit from its consequences.

It is true that the Arab-Israeli struggle is controlled on the Arab side by two principal factors: national conflict and social-class conflict. The struggle can go up and down according to the interconnection or distinction between these two factors. The consequences of the war that was fought on Lebanon's territory showed two important matters that we ought to note. Along with that we ought to affirm that further discussion is required so that these two factors can be more thoroughly and fully investigated.

The first matter is this obvious [effort] to put the requirements of the social-class factor before the national factor. The former factor thus came to have a greater and a growing influence in the process of formulating the positions of Arab forces that are concerned with the struggle. Among the most evident manifestations of this fact on the Arab scene was the weakness of the Arab reaction to Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Arab countries refrained from using their resources to apply pressure on the United States or on Israel. Their governments put down demonstrations of popular support for the Liberation Organization. There is no doubt that the emergence of this factor will contribute to the continuing and accelerating collapse of numerous illusions around the national character of the struggle with Israel that had become widespread, particularly for those who had become accustomed to putting the national factor before other factors and who behave on the basis of the fact that Arabs, no matter how divided they are, are united by one thing they have in common. That one thing is their attitude toward Israel. Many bets that were made on that basis will also be lost.

The second matter is the fact that the influence of the national factor in the Arab-Israeli struggle was flaring up only on the Palestinian scene. This is because Israel's herassment of the Palestinians and the viciousness and continuous escalation of this harassment placed every Palestinian everywhere, including those who thought that the matter did not concern them, under the threat of Israel. Palestinians living on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip learned this lesson a long time ago. Now, Palestinians living in exile who had not learned this lesson are learning it.

New complications will ensue from the influence of these two factors with their obvious mutual contradiction. These complications will [emerge] either in the course of the Palestinian-Israeli struggle or in the course of Arab-Palestinian relations.

This is not to imply that the national factor in the Arab-Israeli struggle in general has vanished or is likely to vanish any time soon. Its influence on the Arab scene [in the various countries], however, is diminishing in favor of the influence exerted by the conflicts of class interests in Arab societies. The influence [of the latter] is growing and its growth stems from the fact that class discrimination, which accompanies the growth and development of these societies, is flaring up. Whether this is consistent with prevailing wishes and convictions or is an infringement upon them, it is a matter that must be noted and taken into account.

Lessons of the War

Now if we wish to summarize the most important lessons that the Palestinian side learned or can learn as a result of this war and [if we wish to list] the negative and positive reactions that accompanied it, we would list the most important of them as follows:

First, Palestinians have demonstrated their ability to deal with the Israeli war machine fearlessly despite its extraordinary superiority. The magnitude of Israel's attack and the fact that it spanned several months provided an opportunity for testing the tools and methods of the Palestinian Resistance: those that are [old and] reliable and those that are newly created. This Palestinian military experience and gave the Palestinian military broad capabilities to develop the numerous aspects of their defensive and offensive activities. In addition, a large number of cadres and fighters became available: they passed the test under fire and they tested their ability to remain steadfast under the most cruel conditions and to deal with the most complicated missions that require courage and a high degree of competence. Particularly as a result of the recent war and its tests, the Palestinian military now has a wealth of acquired experiences and inspiring traditions that must be taken into account by all parties concerned with the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. What was actually tested on a broad scale that had not been available to Palestinian fighters before these 3 months is what used to be said about the advantages of a people's war and about those times when such a war becomes a regular war carrying with it the advantages of its genesis as a war that was not fought by a regular army. Palestinian leaders who experienced combat and who saw its developments in this war must have much to say on this matter.

Second, many illusions about the ethnic character of the battle were dashed. Accordingly, the trend which has been growing for some time to increase self-

reliance was strengthened. This pertains to the fact that the desire to confirm all aspects of Palestinian independence is being given priority: an independent position, an independent decision and an independent organization. This means that more caution is to be observed regarding the interventions of Arab countries in domestic Palestinian affairs; there should be more resistance to such interventions. It also means the same two things regarding attempts by one Arab nation or another to influence Palestinian destiny in a manner that suits its interests and conflicts with Palestinian appraisals of what is needed and required to affirm the Palestinian right to an independent future. It may be premature to predict how large the complications will be that will result from the struggle of divided, agreeing or conflicting Arab wills among each other and the struggle between those wills and the will for Palestinian independence. Nevertheless, it may be said that these complications will be major. It may also be said that after the 3 months' war the Palestinian scene is less likely to be influenced by Arab attempts to influence it when that influence is not consistent with the general Palestinian mood. In this respect the matter is different from the fear some people have that the distribution of Palestinian fighters among a number of Arab countries could increase the chances of Arab influence over Palestinian decisions. But the truth remains the same: with or without this distribution the PLO has shown, by going through the 3-months' war and the political battle that accompanied it and by succeeding in confirming its own capabilities, that it has reached a high level of maturity in the socio-political course of the Palestinian people which is directed towards building an independent life for Palestinians free from illegitimate interventions in their affairs. [The PLO has made significant strides] towards getting rid of the Arabs' dirty laundry for which Palestinians used to be blamed for one reason or another. This started with excuses that were used as slogans about the ethnic character of the battle and ended with conspiracies by the agencies of darkness and their attempts to sow the seeds of their corruption on the Palestinian scene as well. Beyond that doors will remain open to any honest assistance offered by Arab countries to the Liberation Organization. Assistance which these Arab countries are required to give in accordance with the agreements of the Arab League will be considered equal to the initiatives undertaken by these countries. In both cases the assistance [is to be rendered] on the basis of proper respect for the principle of non-intervention in our domestic affairs and the equality of the relationship with the organization.

Third, the notion of alliances on Arab scenes is to be reconsidered. This reconsideration derives its gravity and, accordingly, its direction is determined in the light of the common struggle that Palestinian fighters and Lebanese nationalists experienced and engaged in and in the light of the lack or absence of initiatives by Arab regimes to support those who were defending Lebanon against Israel's invasion.

Fourth, action is to be expanded and stimulated to benefit from the new political clout that materialized for the Liberation Organization after the war. This is to be done on the one hand to forestall the success of counter efforts whose objective is to diminish this clout and, on the other hand, to bring about concrete results and concrete accomplishments in favor of Palestinian national demands in the new situation.

Fifth, the tendency to maintain the Palestinian national unity which has been achieved is to be strengthened. This objective cannot be achieved unless what was accomplished in the wake of danger becomes permanent -- that is, unless these accomplishments become manifest in the military, political and popular institutions. They are to become manifest in the makeup of these institutions and in the organization of their work. The role of these institutions is to be strengthened as that of institutions that embrace everyone's common effort in the wake of the existing agreement to preserve common convictions and positions and to continue a democratic dialogue about the differences that exist. Greater attention to the importance of institutions comes under this consideration. The experience of the war established that the institutions which had a sound foundation stood fast and carried out their duties competently inasmuch as their structures were tight. Institutions that were shaky, those that were built with a tribal spirit or those that were based on principles that are not suitable to their functions collapsed, were eroded or vanished in the fray. An example of this are those popular organizations whose frameworks did not properly represent their public. A mentality of dividing seats among guerilla factions prevailed in those organizations, most of which disappeared from the scene or their effectiveness was not up to the standard of the role that was required of them.

Sixth, attention is to be paid to universal and international public opinion; they play an effective role in supporting Palestinian national demands. Public opinion is to be apprised of the facts that have to do with the Palestinian question, and direct relations with the representatives of that public opinion and with those who influence it are to be strengthened. These are two methods that are effective materially and not only morally: they curb attacks on the Palestinian people and they broaden their national struggle by using means that could help its success. Although the Liberation Organization has been paying attention to the importance of public opinion from an early time and although it has been engaged in extensive activities since the early seventies in the area of political and media relations worldwide, the experience which was added by the recent war confirms the fact that informing public opinion circles of the facts is the only thing that stimulates the direct initiatives of public opinion and the pressure the public exert on their governments. The influence of sheer propaganda or propaganda that lacks facts does not last long.

Seventh, more emphasis is to be placed than has been placed in the past on the importance of action inside the occupied land, since it is the only action that would take place on Palestinian territory and amidst the Palestinian masses. This is regardless of opportunities that may become available for one or another form of national action. One is not to get lost in arguments about the preferability or the singularity of any one of these forms of struggle.

This lesson, among all the other lessons that we learned, is absolutely the most important one. After having experienced action on the Arab scene, Palestinians are to become convinced that what will last longer and will be more fruitful is that effort which sets down roots in Palestinian territory and among the masses of people living there. Every effort other than this is likely to suffer a setback and even to be wasted as long as Palestinians are not the only ones controlling conditions on the other scenes.

This was true before the war, and it was confirmed because of the war. Palestinian action has reached a stage whose conditions do not permit hesitation in making decisive decisions in that regard: the domestic scene is the basic

scene for action, and the outside scenes provide support and backing; the interaction between the two is to be regulated.

It is true that throngs of Palestinians have interests and rights that the Liberation Organization has to safeguard and defend. In addition, Arab countries have duties towards Palestinians even if no Palestinians live in those countries. However, this matter does not invalidate the basic thrust toward the occupied land. In fact, stimulating national action inside the occupied land would give Palestinians outside the occupied land more clout and influence in the affairs of this outside world itself. Defending Palestinian rights on Arab scenes is to be listed as a course of action in the general national effort to achieve Palestinian national demands; it is not to be submerged in marginal battles or subjected to charges that are hurled by foes of every kind, [such as] charges of interfering in the domestic affairs of Arab countries, of looking for privileges or of forming centers of power whose existence is not suitable to the conditions of this or the other country.

The most prominent example offered by the recent war to emphasize this lesson is the experience of the siege of West Beirut. To tighten this siege Israel deployed everything it needed in its mighty war machine, but for 2 months it was unable to make significant progress in its attempts to enter the besieged city. Palestinian military men estimated that Israel would have had to sustain between 30,000 and 50,000 casualties if it wanted to continue its progress until it could establish its complete control over the city. The defenders of Beirut had the necessary means and the will to force Israel to pay such a price until the war should come to an end. The large number of fighters who left Beirut safely and the large quantities of weapons and ammunition that left the city or were kept in it attest to that fact. Nevertheless, the Palestinian command was compelled to negotiate in order to get out of Beirut. The principal reason that compelled the command to accept a cease fire was the fact that ultimately, the city of Beirut was not a Palestinian city, despite the magnitude of support it generated for the Liberation Organization. This meant that the Palestinian command would not continue a confrontation policy that could force this city to pay a high price for Palestinian steadfastness or could complicate conditions in Lebanon even further.

The Liberation Organization's Growing Prestige

To these lessons, the most prominent of which were mentioned, the outcome of the war confirmed general results whose effects would apply one by one to the total conditions that pertain to the question of Palestine and the Arab-Zionist struggle.

The first one of these was the ample evidence which proved that those who had hoped to destroy the unity of the Palestinian people lost the opportunity to do so. Everyone concerned, including those who are contemptuous of the organization and who refuse to have anything to do with it, became convinced that the PLO was really the number that could not be crossed out of the Middle East equation. They became convinced that the solution to this question was the key without which all other questions would remain pending. Pertaining to this outcome is the growing import of the Palestinian question and the confirmation of the fact that a stable peace could not be achieved in the area unless the Palestinians are satisfied in one way or another.

The war and the heroic defense put up by Palestinian fighters against the Israeli invasion attracted broad and solid worldwide support for the national rights of the Palestinian peop. This enabled the Liberation Organization to win the profound respect and appreciation [of many]. Except for those contemptuous people, no one doubted any more the truth and credibility of the fact that the organization represented the Palestinian people.

On the other side of the coin, Israel's reputation literally hit rock bottom, and the last pretext it had used to cover up the aggressive, expansionist nature of its wars in the past collapsed. The gains Israel had made after its peace with Egypt suffered a setback, and the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel clarified the racist, criminal nature of Israel's conduct and its measures in its war against the Palestinian people.

Together, all these results constitute a single gain: that of showing the just aspect of the Palestine question and of the struggle of Palestinians for their national rights. It is this that is giving the policy of the Liberation Organization greater legitimacy.

Palestinian reforms that are required in the light of the outcome of the war must be realistic and stern so they can create the necessary groundwork for stabilizing and developing the gains and so they can give the Palestinian people a rewarding return on the tremendous efforts and sacrifices they made. It may be correct to say that there is agreement over the fact that the steadiness of the organization's new undertaking depends on its ability to overcome the flaws, shortcomings and other drawbacks that attached themselves to the organization's course throughout the past years. Because these drawbacks have an effect, because of their strong, cumulative effect and because they have a large number of people who defend them and benefit from them, the required awakening that can overcome these drawbacks will almost have to make the effort that is required to accomplish these reforms no less than a revolution within a revolution.

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CSO: 4404/129

BETHLEHEM MAYOR URGES PALESTINIANS TO SEEK PEACE

PM280909 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 21 Jan 83 p 15

[Ilyas Frayj, mayor of Bethlehem, interview with Hisham Milhim by telephone from Washington--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] 'UKAZ: Israel is continuing to implement its colonization program in the occupied territories and recently it launched a propaganda campaign aimed at increasing the number of Jewish settlers and facilitating their move to the occupied territories by offering them incentives to do so. This is happening despite the U.S. "protests" and at the same time as the Arabs are exerting peace efforts. What is the political significance you draw from such an escalation?

Frayj: "Unguarded property tempts people to steal." [Arabic popular saying] The country is unguarded. The political significance is clear: it is to convince the Arabs that there is no longer anything to negotiate about. The minor uprisings that occur now and then in Nabulus, Hebron, Ramallah, Bethlehem and elsewhere cannot halt colonization and save the land. What can save the land is a clear Arab stand that says: We want to negotiate. By doing so we can put the United States in an embarrassing situation that would force it to bring pressure to bear on Israel. As for disagreements among the Arabs and their dillydallying—this will lead to no results. What do the Arabs care? They have their own countries while there will be no country or land left for us.

'UKAZ: Therefore you agree with what some people, like Meron Benvenisti [deputy mayor of Jerusalem] and others, say—that the situation has reached the point of no return and only 5 minutes are left before the clock strikes midnight and it will be too late.

Frayj: This is true, Benvenisti is a realiable source and I quite agree with his analyses and conclusions. The situation in the occupied territories will soon reach the point of no return if it has not already reached it. I have personally used the term "5 minutes" before Benvenisti did in order to explain this point. This was what I tried to do in an article in the NEW YORK TIMES when King Husayn was in Washington.

'UKAZ: What is your opinion regarding the Jordanian-Palestinian talks and what do you expect of them?

Frayj: These talks are necessary and what is even more necessary is to reach an agreement. If this does not happen there will be great disappointment here. We want to hear the result of this move in the Arabic language.

'UKAZ: What do you mean by that?

Frayj: That they should declare a clear stand toward the negotiations [presumably with Israel].

'UKAZ: There is talk about forming a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation including some elements from inside the occupied territory that are not linked to the PLO in order to take part in the negotiations.

Frayj: This is what should happen.

'UKAZ: But this means going over the heads of "the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people." Is it not so?

Frayj: What is the PLO? The PLO is the Palestinian people. There is a Palestinian command, but who represents the body. The Palestinian people are the body. Every vein in the Palestinian body is sensitive and vital. Any Palestinian mandate should be frankly, clearly and definitely approved by the PLO

The Arabs must declare their willingness to negotiate. This will strengthen the Americans' position so that they will be able to tell the Israelis to stop colonization on account of the negotiations. This will refute the Israeli excuse that the Arabs do not want negotiations or peace. If no Jordanian-Palestinian agreement is reached the opportunity will be lost irrevocably. There is no homeland other than the West Bank. Even the West Bank is being lost daily; that is to say, what there is left in it for us.

'UKAZ: The coming meeting of the Palestine National Council [PNC] is expected to issue historic resolutions. How do you read the situation and what would you have to say to its members if you were present in the council?

Frayj: My advice to them is to throw the slogans in the wastepaper basket and to be realistic. Some 60 percent of the Arab lands in the West Bank have been fenced off and seized. The cities there have been turned into enclaves, like reservations [word published in English]. The West Bank has been cut into pieces and there is no foreseeable Arab military solution. Remaining in political stagnation or in the present political limbo will result in Israel's disposing of the Arab lands as it sees fit. Protests and appeals will be of no use and addressing pleas to the United States and the United Nations will be of no avail for us. We have been experiencing this for 50 years. Why should we not try something new? Why should we not say that we accept the principle of mutual and simultaneous recognition and

declare our readiness for negotiations and respect of the right of others to live and for every country to have its own borders and security?

'UKAZ: Yasir 'Arafat recently announced that Reagan's initiative contains several positive points. The Palestinians have not so far rejected Reagan's initiative despite the strong criticism of it at the Palestine Central Council meeting and other Palestinian meetings. There are certain Palestinian parties that expect the PLO to come closer to the views you have put forward.

Frayj: First, Reagan's initiative considers the West Bank and Gaza sector as occupied territories; it says that the final status of Jerusalem is subject to negotiations and provides for halting colonization. From a political standpoint the autonomy which the initiative is talking about is almost complete—an independent internal administration with the participation of Jordan. As you know, if the bridges with Jordan were to be closed for 1 week that would spell the end for us. Second, I expect the PLO to come closer to the views I proposed but, as you know, I have been saying this for years and I have said it to you more than once in the past 2 years. They must move now, and quickly.

The moment the Arabs declare their willingness to negotiate there will be demonstrations in Israel demanding negotiations and peace with the Arabs. This is not just a view; it [is] something certain and I have heard it from Israelis in the Labor Party, and peace movement and others. [passage omitted]

'UKAZ: Correspondence takes place between you and American officials. Those who visit the area always meet with you. What do they tell you about Reagan's initiative and do you think it will remain alive after a few months, especially after preparations for the election campaign get underway?

Frayj: The Americans are waiting for us to move. They say: Why don't you help us. They always say "We will move immediately after you have declared your desire to negotiate and recognize [Israel].[They assure us that Reagan is determined about his initiative and that the presence of George Shultz is beneficial to us. But for how long? It is the PNC that will decide our fate; either it will plunge us to the bottom of the ocean or will begin a political dialogue aimed at peace. [passage omitted]

I would like you to quote me as saying: The PNC must move and the Palestinian decision must remain fully independent. I recall that when President Bourguiba visited us in 1964 he called for peace with Israel. He told us: In the event of war with Israel we will not be able to help you just as you could not help us when we were struggling against French colonialism because of the distance that separates us. Now in 1983 our men are in Tunisia 3,000 km from their own country. [passage omitted]

BETHLEHEM MAYOR ON PALESTINIAN PEACE DOCUMENT

JN301300 Amman AL'RA'Y in Arabic 30 Jan 83 pp 1, 19

[Text] Cairo--Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj, who is currently visiting Cairo, has revealed that he has delivered to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, during the important meetings which he has held with Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali and the senior Egyptian officials, a document on "Palestinian peace" which was signed at his house by him, Hikmat al-Masri, Rashad al-Shawwa and 200 ranking Palestinian intellectuals.

Frayj pointed out that the most important points in this document are: agreement on the principle of holding negotiations with Israel; the right to self-determination; coordination with Jordan; freezing settlements and the mutual and simultaneous recognition with Israel; acceptance of the two security council resolutions; support for the Fes summit resolutions and for the positive points in Reagan's plan. The document also stated that the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Frayj has called on the Arab states to review their stands toward Egypt by resuming relations with it and by not ignoring the Egyptian role. He also called on the PLO leaders and chairman to open a new page of sincere relations with the Egyptian Government and to coordinate with the Egyptian leadership to achieve a just peace in the region.

Frayj reiterated his support for the political steps which have been made by Egypt since 1977 until the present time. He said that Egypt, thanks to this wise policy, was able to liberate the entire Sinai while the Arabs continue to reject and to suffer losses

The Bethlehem mayor has called on Arab extremists in general and the Palestinians in particular not to help Israel achieve its objectives by continuous refusal, and that if they want to save themselves, they must hold direct negotiations with Israel to be preceded by mutual and simultaneous recognition.

Frayj concluded by saying: It is time for the Palestinian political moves to take place; the moves which have become very important, because time is against us, and in a few months' time the file on the Palestinian question will be closed.

PLO RADIO CRITICIZES PROPOSED PEACE PLANS

JN241946 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1630 GMT 24 Jan 83

[Talk by radio's political commentator]

[Excerpts] The political plans now being proposed to solve the Palestinian issue or the Middle East crisis are the following three: First, the Arab peace plan as formulated by the Second Fes Summit Conference; second, the plan proposed in 1981 by the late Soviet leader Brezhnev; and third, President Reagan's plan. Naturally, we in the PLO are committed only to our national political program. However, we agreed on the Arab peace plan proposed by the Fes Summit. Actually, we are struggling to transform this plan into common ground for a single Arab stand which we all desire to achieve.

A mistake is committed in the analysis, interpretation and assessment of these plans. For example, when we say that the Fes Arab peace plan should be adopted, we hear some people asking us to look for another plan because the Fes plan is not accepted by either the United States or Israel. Such an argument cannot govern our adoption of plans or policies, since we do not try to satisfy the demands of either of these sides. This applies to the Reagan plan as well. It is known that the Reagan plan is officially and in practice rejected by Israel. An Israeli official spokesman announced his government's rejection of this plan and the Israeli cabinet reiterated this rejection. In practice, Israel confirms its rejection of [the] Reagan plan by challenging portions of it. The Reagan plan suggests halting or freezing the settlements and the Israelis continue to build more settlements every day.

In addition, we see that the U.S. side is not serious about this plan, which does not recognize the Palestinians' and the Arab nation's interests and aspirations. At a time when the Americans are proposing their plan as a solution to the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian cause and are claiming that they are serious in implementing this plan, we see that the U.S. Congress is endorsing more aid to Israel. So, as Reagan announces what we believe is not a serious peace plan, the Israeli construction of settlements and U.S. financial aid to Israel continue.

In brief, we stress that the PLO's stance on all the proposed plans is not obscure as some like to claim. The PLO's stance is clear; we reject any plan that does not grant our legitimate national rights and that fails to recognize

our right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of our own independent that under PLO leadership. Any plan that fails to recognize these legitimate and just Palestinian demands is not only rejected but also cannot be carried out. [passage omitted]

Some ask the Arabs to accept any plan proposed to them because this acceptance would halt the construction of settlements and rescue the occupied land. I can see no accuracy or objectivity in this argument. How can the Arabs' acceptance of a plan that does not recognize Arab right stop the construction of settlements? Does this mean that if the Reagan plan is accepted the United States will put pressure on Israel? Well, many Arabs have accepted the Reagan plan but have heard of no U.S. pressures or halt in construction. Everything so far continues as is.

Some others say that the Palestinians must recognize Israel. Some have even suggested to the Palestinians that they recognize Israel with no strings attached. They argue that such a thing would embarrass the United States in front of public opinion.

We in the PLO do not buy or accept such arguments. Morally speaking, no one has the right to ask the victim to recognize its killer, politically speaking. No one has the right to ask the Palestinian people to relinquish their rights at a time when the enemy continues to disavow these rights, confiscate the Palestinian land and kill people.

Diplomatically speaking, we wonder how the PLO can recognize [Israel] while it is not yet recognized [by Israel]? Does this mean that we would be considered the Palestinian people's representatives if we agree to recognize Israel without any strings attached? Does this mean that we would not be considered the Palestinians' representatives if we ask others to recognize us? The whole world is not aware of this contradiction.

There is no doubt that we in the PLO seek a just peace. All our struggle is aimed at achieving such a just peace based on the recognition of our national rights. However, when the Americans try to make the Israeli aggression and its outcome an accepted status quo, then they have to expect a revolution by those who are being killed. [passage omitted]

PLO REPRESENTATIVES ON REAGAN, FES PLANS

NCO20920 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 27 Jan 83 p 4

[Statement by PLO representative in Ankara Abu Firas to TERCUMAN's correspondent Metin Corabatir on the latest developments in the Middle East]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] An Israeli source in Istanbul maintained that the PLO's entire strength was around 15,000-16,000 men and that this strength did not represent the majority of the Palestinian people. He added: "How has 'Arafat come to this point? All Palestinian leaders who had favored the establishment of good relations with Israel have been killed. Under the circumstances, the PLO has no right to speak on behalf of the Palestinians." In reply to this argument, PLO representative in Ankara, Abu Firas, told TERCUMAN: "Some circles want the PLO to recognize Israel. And yet both the Reagan administration and Israel say that the PLO does not exist. How can somebody that does not exist recognize somebody else?"

Commenting on the difference between the Fes plan and the Reagan plan, Abu Firas said: "The Fes plan envisages an independent Palestinian state. First of all the existence of two states is necessary in order that it may form a confederation. When a Palestinian state is formed, the Palestinians and the Jordanians, two brotherly people, can unite under a confederation. There, too, the principle of equality should form the basis. That is, the Palestinian state should have its own army, its own independent foreign policy. As it was also clearly put by Israeli head of state Navon, the Reagan plan serves Israel's interests. [The Reagan] plan first rejects the establishment of a Palestinian state but at the same time it refers to conditional "self-determination. This is a contradiction. They impose conditions from outside and then they talk of self-determination."

Abu Firas stated however, that President Reagan's opposition to the annexation of Jerusalem and to the establishment of settlements on the West Bank were the two positive aspects of his plan. [passage omitted]

Abu Firas was asked: "What will your next card be since you have lost your military strength and there is not any rapproachement in the diplomatic arena?" He replied: "We have many cards in our hands. First of all, let me make this quite crear: the military war is continuing and will continue. We have lost a battle but we will win the war. It is immaterial whether we

"are in Lebanon, Algeria or Syria. We are reorganizing our army. We are reinforcing our armed strength."

Divergence of views between Israel and the PLO is not confined only to the methods of a future settlement. They differ also in the interpretation of the recent past. While the Israeli sources argue that the PLO has been reduced to the position of a "parasite" in this or in that Arab state, Abu Firas maintains that Lebanon was not a defeat for the PLO. He says: "We are the victors in Lebanon. We did not leave Beirut because we were defeated. On the contrary, we did not wish the civilian population to suffer any harm. Beirut was not our city. We were guests there. So we had to make sacrifices. On leaving the city, our militants made signs of victory with their arms."

While the Israelis and the PLO disagree on many issues, they agree on one or two points: one of the most important points on which they unite, is the inactivity displayed by the Arab world in face of the occupation of Lebanon. Abu Firas attributes this to the fact that the regimes in the Arab countries attach more importance to their own interests than to the general Arab interests. But according to the Israelis, no Arab state truly likes the PLO.

The statements made, despite the intensive diplomatic traffic, indicate that the Palestinian people's hardships will probably continue for a long time to come yet.

UAE PAPER WARNS OF U.S. PLAN TO ELIMINATE ARAB OIL

GF290941 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0650 GMT 29 Jan 83

[From press review]

[Excerpt] Manama, 29 Jan (WAKH)—[Passage omitted] The UAE paper AL-KHALIJ warned the Arab petroleum countries of the U.S. role "which is aimed at freezing the course of history by blocking the possibility of any Arab awakening or any cultural revival through reducing the role of Arab petroleum in the world,"

Commenting editorially the paper noted today that "the countries of Western Europe and the United States have not only designed a strategic plan to bank-rupt the Arab petroleum countries, they also plan to completely eliminate Arab petroleum by dispensing with it as a source of energy by 1990 and by paving the way for Israel to implement its expansionist plans from the [Persian] Gulf to the [Atlantic] Ocean."

The paper stressed that the Western plan aimed at reducing the role of Arab petroleum in the world and moving the United States and the Western countries into a transition stage was approved at the Venice conference held by the leaders of the Western countries in 1980. AL-KHALIJ unveiled some of the steps taken after the Venice conference, which was known as the turning point in the effort to dispense with Arab petroleum. The paper referred to the [British] petroleum of the north, withdrawal of some of the U.S. companies from the Arab countries and the reduction in the Western demand for Arab petroleum.

Concluding editorially, the paper called on the governments of the Arab countries to be aware of the genuine meaning of the disastrous developments which have taken place in the last 3 years on the international petroleum arena. [passage omitted]

BRIEFS

POPULATION, LABOR FORCE FIGURES--Abu Dhabi, 21 Jan (QNA)--A report by the UAE Ministry of Planning says that the UAE's population has increased from 558,000 in 1975 to 1,040,000 in 1980, and that most of the population is concentrated in the oil-rich amirates--the population of Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Ash-Shariqah constitutes 85 percent of the UAE's population. The labor force has increased from 288,000 in 1975 to 541,000 in 1980, an annual rate of growth of 13.4 percent, whereas the population's annual rate of growth during the same period was 13.3 percent. During the 1975-80 period 52 percent of the population formed 52 [percent of j the labor force. [Text] [GF211426 Doha QNA in Arabic 1112 GMT 21 Jan 83]

UAE EXPORTS, IMPORTS--Dubayy, 21 Jan (WAKH)--A statistical report published by the Authority of Dubai Ports and Customs says that the total amount of UAE imports through Dubai ports during the first 9 months of 1982 was 3.344 billion kg valued at 13.684 billion dirhams. The report said that the total amount of UAE exports through the same ports was 669.652 million kg valued at 1.196 billion dirhams while the size of reexports was 244.433 million kg valued at 1.955 billion dirhams. [Text] [GF211426 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1220 GMT 21 Jan 83]

NEW GAS PROJECT--Abu Dhabi, 30 Jan (WAKH)--A massive expansion project is being undertaken by the Dubai Natural Gas Company (DUGAS) at a cost of about 100 million dollars, the Dubayy-based English daily, GULF NEWS reported today. The project involves the drilling of a number of new offshore wells, laying of new offshore pipelines connected to the main onland complex at Jabal 'Ali and building of additional onshore facilities. The entire project would be completed by the first quarter of 1984, the newspaper said. At present, DUGAS was running at a maximum of 98 percent capacity, producing 1,200 to 1,300 tonnes of LPG daily and about 6,000 to 6,500 barrels of condensate on an average daily. No increase in production was planned for 1983. [Text] [GF301800 Manama WAKH in English 1630 GMT 30 Jan 83]

CPSU OFFICIAL LAUDS POST-1971 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, GANDHI REGIME

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 82 pp 19-22

/Article by R. Ul'yanovskiy, doctor of economics: "The Influential Political Force of India" /

/Text/ In recent years in the Soviet Union there have been many interesting works published which analyze various aspects of the socio-economic development of independent India. However, the role of the nation's ruling party, the Indian National Congress (INC), which has continuously held power for 30 years, and its place in the nation's political system requires special study. Interest in this subject is justified, for we are talking about a period of great political changes in India, one of the largest nations in Asia.

The 1950's, essentially the first decade of independence, were the period of the Congress Party's most firm and stable position as the ruling party at the center and locally. This situation (although it gradually changed, and not to the favor of the Congress Party) was maintained until the middle of the 1960's. Using somewhat arbitrary dates, one can state that it remained generally unchanged until the death of J. Nehru. In the second half of the 1960's serious crisis phenomenon began to be observed in the Congress Party, which led to an internal split in the party and latter to its loss of power in many states.

In the beginning of the 1970's it was possible to show that the crisis in the Congress Party had been overcome. However, subsequent events, the sharpening of the political situation in the nation in the middle of the decade, the introduction of the emergency laws, the unification of the opposition forces in the struggle against I. Gandhi's government, and the Congress Party's temporary loss of power all prove that the crisis in the party was a deep and important phenomenon. The fall of the Gandhi government in 1977 led to important changes in the nation's party and political system. Although the "Janata" coalition did not hold power very long, and in the 1980 elections Indira Gandhi won a very convincing victory, the shifts and changes at the end of the 1970's could not and did not disappear without a trace. The Congress Party is again in power, but it is no longer the same Congress Party, and it is operating under different conditions than before. A new stage has begun in the history of the Congress Party's development. This stage is still too new to provide the basis for any definitive conclusions. For just this reason the previous period in the

Congress Party's development acquires some significance, casting light upon the events of our day. It is risky to make predictions about the future, but there can be no doubt th. The end of the 1970's, or to be more exact, the second half of the 1960's and the 1970's turned out to be a turning point in India's political development.

It is generally known that among the liberated nations, former colonies and semi-colonies which achieved independence after the Second World War, India is a unique case in the sense that its independent political structure after 1947 was based upon the canons of bourgeois constitutionalism and parliamentarianism, primarily the British model. In its organization there is also a marked influence of the constitutional system of the United States in the areas of federalism and the right of the supreme court to review.

Bourgeois political scientists have called India "the largest democracy in the world" (according to the number of voters). It is true that all the attributes of bourgeois democracy have been widely applied in India. However, it would be incorrect to assume that this so-called model of democracy was transplanted, or could be transplanted to Indian soil without substantial changes. The conditions were too different, one can say fundamentally different. Such a great expert and analyst of political systems and political history as Jawaharlal Nehru, being indisputably the inspirer of fundamental principles in India's constitution, could not help but recognize this. The most indicative and socially significant thing about this constitution is not that it copies European models, but that it fills them with new content, ensuring the political stability for state power in India for 30 years under conditions unprecedented, unknown, and unsuitable to classical bourgeois democracy. This is a most noteworthy phenomenon.

This filling of bourgeois democracy's classical principles with new content is especially evident in the structure of political power. At the moment of its birth it was, and to this day independent India remains one of the most, if not the most multiparty state in the world. Concurrently, this multiparty condition, being sort of a symbol of the faith of bourgeois democracy's adherents, is an imaginary freedom. In the course of 30 years it has not only not led to a replacement of the sole ruling party at the center, but it has not been able to give rise to an opposition capable of making a real claim to power. The classical bourgeois multiparty (or its variant, the two party) system is characterized by a periodic "changing of the guard". In India the system of political power has quite reliably supported the stable leadership of the nation by the Congress Party.

When such a situation began to arise in certain other developing nations, a phrase defining this phenomena appeared among political scientists: A multiparty system with a dominating party. In this field India was probably a pioneer.

The Indian Constitution provided the ruling party with a well developed mechanism for retaining and consolidating power. It is sufficient to point to

the institution of presidential rule in the states (Article 356 of the possibility), which was first put into effect under J. Nehru to remove the government in Kerala, which had legally been formed by the Indian Communists in the basis of election results. However, this matter does not only involve institutionally available methods for protecting existing power. A really stable power, if it strives to protect and consolidate itself, cannot be based only upon force. The totality of social and economic conditions — the masses' level of consciousness, official propaganda, the historical traditions of the national liberation struggle, the all-powerful habit of the masses' blind to liberation struggle, the consciousness of the society's top political elite and the economic masters — ensured a real solid support for the Congress Party by the masses of voters.

The Congress Party came to power as the recognized leader of the anti-imperialist and anti-British movement, for decades the main component of all national life. The Congress Party had a powerful and well developed organization throughout the entire country, closely linked to the population and prepared to take power through a prolonged political struggle. It also had experience in self administration in colonial times, although this was essentially formal. However, to people capable of deep analytical thinking and prediction, the changes in the party's situation after its arrival to power became clear comparatively quickly. This applies first of all to its better leaders: Mahatma Gandi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Both of them noted, one should say, agonizingly experienced the moral and political degeneration of some of their comrades in arms, who, over the years, were gradually transformed from sincere, selfless fighters for the national cause into bureaucrats and nouveau riche engaged only in money grubbing and personal enrichment. The rank and file Indian voter needed much more time before such changes, in the final account flowing from capitalist socio-· commic development and encompassing all of India, were recognized and entered into his political consciousness. In some cases disillusionment with the activities of Congress Party members led to loss of faith in the party. The belief of the masses in the Congress Party, especially the peasants and various petty bourgeois strata among the urban population was gradually undermined. In the final account it was they, the multimillion membered strata of India, and especially rural India, who determined all election campaigns.

Undoubtedly, however, the problem was more than the force of tradition. The moral and political changes of some leaders and many rank and file members of the Congress Party occurred more rapidly and markedly outdistanced the changes in this organization's political line. With respect to its class content the Congress Party was always an organization of the Indian national bourgeoisie. However, beginning in 1920 when in the party and in India as a whole began the era marked by the anti-imperialist activities of M. Gandhi, who boldly revolutionized the party's ideology and methods of mass work, the party's social base began to change rapidly. A powerful stream of industrial workers, peasants, masses of unfortunate people, paupers and coolies, urban intelligentsia and small merchants entered it. As a result, left groups arose in the Congress Party, attempting to advocate the ideals of the lower groups. In the 1930's they put forward the question of collective membership of leading trade unions and peasant organizations. The struggle for national independence was a goal for the entire people and in advocating it, the Congress Party was advocating the interests of the entire Indian people.

In the years of the independence struggle the Indian National Congress had the nature of a unique national front, a general national coalition, the ideology, politics, and tactics of which were dominated by the interests of the national bourgeois and sometimes the national liberal forces. The basis of the coalition was the prolonged and real coincidence of interests of practically all classes of Indian society (with the exception of the princes, feudal landlords and compradores completely dependent upon British colonialism) in the struggle for freedom and independence and the assertion of national sovereignty. This gave the Congress Party the possibility of having a strong influence over tens and hundreds of millions of people. This same circumstance also gave rise to to its substantial weaknesses, for on a political, ideological, and social level the Congress Party was and remains a very heterogenous and quite friable organization.

The face of the Congress Party could not automatically change with the winning of independence, although the revolutionary potential of sizable strata of the nation were to a certain extent exhausted. The party retained its heterogeneity and, as previously, was the representative of various political and class currents.

A number of circumstances supported the existence of these diverse force within the framework of the Indian National Congress.

The nation faced the huge tasks of a general democratic transformation which would correspond to the interests of all classes, with the exception of feudal and compradore classes. As Nehru understood perfectly well, political independence could turn out to be fictional if it were not reinforced by economic independence, if the nation were not liberated from imperialism's economic exploitation. From thence followed the necessity of industrialization, the creation of a powerful state sector as a base for social and economic progress. All these goals were outlined in the so-called "Nehru Course". The categorical necessity of Indian society's technical-economic and sociocultural reorganization required a consistent peace loving foreign policy, and an anticolonialist, antiracist, and anti-imperialist course. This course permitted, and still permits Indian politics to retain its progressive content.

The Congress Party's diversity was expressed in its platform. It had an eclectic, compromised, and contradictory nature, attempting to include and tie together the interests of very diverse strata of the population. The Congress Party's ideology did not coincide with its real bourgeois politics. It was wider and deeper than these politics and intended for the nation's vast masses. Serving as a means of bourgeois politics, the ideology of the Congress Party at the same time transcended the framework of narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie. These tendencies, noted in the Congress Party back in the 1930's, found expression in J. Nehru's proclamation at the session of the Indian National Congress in Avadi in January 1955 of the goal of transforming society to a socialist model. It was necessary to use special ideological and tactical methods such as the thesis on the priority of economic growth prior to solving social contradictions in order to justify essentially bourgeois policies with socialist slogans.

The Congress Party related to these slogans in various ways. Some tolerated them as a propaganda device for ensuring the confidence of the masses, well twice of the fact that in the second half of the 20th Century capitalism could not advance in India under its own flag, that it needed to disguise itself. Withers took the socialist slogans seriously and wanted to fill them with real intent. The contradictory ideological platform created the soil for the simultaneous coexistence and struggle of different political forces within the framework of the Congress Party.

Finally, another quite important factor supporting the existence of contradictry tendencies in the party and ensuring its retention of power was the fact that this organization was led by the nation's acknowledged leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, men with a wide range of views and tolerance, not binding themselves to any group. In spite of deep differences in their views, both of them, Gandhi and Nehru, were convinced adherents of unity of the entire multinational people and of the integrity of the Indian state. They made the greatest contribution to the solution of these problems, which, in spite of the class narrowness of their ideas about national and social unity, turned out to be historically justified both in the years of struggle for freedom, and in the first decades of independent India. The Indian national capitalist class would not have made use of Gandhi or Nehru if they had not met its interests. However, neither Gandhi nor Nehru were henchmen of the Indian money-bags, nor were they agents of their will. They were the nation's leaders in the full and better sense of the word. They were able to go beyond the bounds of the selfinterest of bourgeois politics, and were filled with a burning sensitivity for the working masses.

In M. Gandhi these tendencies found embodiment in his idea of sarvodayn a patriarchical, peasant idyl where all people are brothers, where everybody works, and where there is no parasitism, exploitation, or inequality. Mahatma Gandhi cherished the dream of approaching this society by nonviolent means. All his life he remained true to this conviction.

The path of Nehru's ideological and political development was somewhat more mplex. Having begun, in his own words, "with one hundred percent nationalism" influenced by the defeat of the nationalist movement led by Gandhi, he concluded that it was limited. At the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's this led Nehru to a position of revolutionary democracy strongly influenced by scientific socialism. However, the troubled struggle between the party's rights and lefts in the 1930's convinced him of the obstinacy of the rights in their attempts to crush the lefts and their readiness to move into a splinter group for this purpose. Not immediately, nor all at once, but little by little, Nehru was forced to sacrifice his revolutionary democratism to the unity of the Indian National Congress. The concepts of socialism and revolutionary mindedness began to weaken in his political statements, and when Nehru became prime minister they were gradually replaced by a left national reformism, which naturally had a Gandhi coloration.

It is difficult to say what had the greater influence upon this evolution of Nehru's views: His own convictions, or the necessity of starting from the level of consciousness in the party of which he was the leader. Nehru clearly

understood that in the 1950's this party could not accept his revolutionary views of the first 'alf of the 1930's. Not without foundation, Nehru felt that the stage of the socialist revolution had not yet arrived in India, and that the nation required a transitional period. This was correct and did not contradict his concepts of the 1930's. However, in contrast to the 1930's he argued for this transitional period now on a nationalist-reformist level rather than a revolutionary one. It was reformist ideas that he propagandized, having become prime minister, and it was just such ideas which imbued the conception of "society in a socialist image". Through all this Nehru did not burn his bridges linking him with his revolutionary past. He retained a deep belief in the ideals of genuine socialism and was aware of the bourgeois character of the politics carried out by the Congress Party under socialist slogans.

Such were the two figures who, through their skill, ensuring unity of the Congress Party and its support by the masses, not breaking with the national capitalist class were able to go beyond the framework of bourgeois ideas about politics. In India there has never been, not even up until now, a force able to shake the authority of these names and the somewhat instinctive faith of the masses in everything connected to them.

For a long time these principles ensured the Congress Party's unity and its broad support by diverse social forces. They thus defended the party's monopoly of power in a multiparty system without turning to repression on such a scale as to cast doubt upon the state's bourgeois democratic character.

However, nothing is eternal in the political world. The effect of all these factors was slowly undermined by the development of capitalism, the sharpening of class contradictions, and the ever greater predominance of bourgeois class egoism over general national interests in the policies of the ruling party, especially on the level of state and local power. The departure of the party's charismatic leaders from the political arena assisted this considerably.

While formally following the "Nehru Course" bourgeois elements limited the effectiveness of his envisaged general democratic transformations, and his orientation towards the masses. They injected inconsistency, class self-interest, and elitist narrowness into his conceptions. The ruling party began to increasingly turn to force to suppress the most critical class actions of workers. The ideological umbrella of Gandhiism and the "Nehru Course", which had covered diverse elements in the Congress Party, could no longer protect everybody. The rightist circles of the national capitalist class more clearly revealed an aspiration towards an openly conducted consistent bourgeois policy to the benefit of only the large capitalists in the cities and the large capitalist landlords and rich peasants in the countryside. The rightists also wanted to reject the "Nehru Course" with its socialist ideals and principles of centralized planning with a strong state sector, in which monopolistic Indian capitalists increasingly felt a threat to their own freedom and obstacle free growth.

The fourth general elections in 1967 became a major watershed in India's political development. There was a serious weakening of the Congress Party's position in the center and non-Congress Party governments were formed in seven states. This undermined the basis of Congress Party domination and gave an impetus to change the nation's existing party and political system.

In Insuing events are well known. The negative election results for the party and the disputes within the party leadership on the reasons for the failure and the measures necessary to eliminate them became an obvious indicator of a split in the party. The explusion of the "Syndicate", a rightist grouping, from the Congress Party, and somewhat of an intensification of lemocratic tendencies in the party did not free the Congress Party from the significant incluence of conservative forces remaining at the leadership level. Influential groups of the national bourgeoisie, including the monopolists, continued to give financial and other support to the Congress Party, doing this with definite calculations in mind.

Although the results of the general elections of 1971, the Congress Party's victory over the forces of the united right opposition —the "great alliance"—in outward appearances would seem to have returned the Congress Party to a position of domination as in the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, in fact the accumulation of objective and subjective factors in the break up of the party's dominant position continued very intensively. The events of 1973—1975 gave new impulse to the movement towards unification of the oppositional: rces, and the crisis of the Congress Party became even sharper.

The tate of emergency during 1975-1977 caused wide discussion in the foreign and Soviet press. The reasons for its introduction and the character of the measures announced by the I. Gandhi government, including those for the implementation of the progressive government "Twenty Point Program", are known. However, they were too late. The lower strata of the public had rejected the Congress Party. The negative results to the party from all the measures it introduced during the state of emergency are evidence that the ruling party did not succeed in overcoming the objective and subjective factors which caused the crisis in its power. In 1977 the party suffered a defeat.

What are the reasons for the Congress Party's disintegration and loss of authority, which led it to defeat in 1977? If one looks for these reasons not in the concrete historical situation of the second half of the 1970's, but in the profound social processes, there can be no doubt about the answer. It was the growing difficulties and contradictions of capitalist development in India, heavily telling upon the masses. The Congress Party had the good intentions of easing these difficulties, developing national capitalism within the framework or general national interests, organically subordinating it to the goals of ... onomic development and social welfare, preventing the rapid growth of monoto lies and on this basis lessening class conflict. These all turned out to be illusory. Contradictions also continued to increase within the ruling :lass, between its right, center, and left circles, and between the national bourgeoisie and the broad masses. Workers' demonstrations assumed unprecedented scales. In 1973 Indira Gandhi stated: "We acutely feel the growing impatience of our people. We understand that if our system cannot satisfy the valid expectations of the people, then they might prefer other methods." This is just what happened.

However, the "Janata" coalition, which replaced the Congress Party, could not offer the Indian people a satisfactory alternative for national development. The "Janata" concentrated on criticism of the Congress Party regime and system

trying to fully utilize public dissatisfaction for its own interests. However, it was not able to develop an effective and dynamic program of action. Very soon its random and a metimes even unprincipled character led the "Janata" and it is a breakup. It took only 30 months to exhaust the voters faith.

Part of the Indian National Congress, which after the elections of 1977 followed Indian Gandhi in spite of a serious defeat, remained a potent political force that continued to receive the support of broad strata of the rural and urban population and considerable groups of the property owning classes. The disintegration and ignominious collapse of "Janata" and its communualistic and chauvinistic ideals led the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Indian Gandhi to a convincing victory in the parliamentary elections of 1980. The party again gained power and began to live like a ruling party in a great Asian country. It again gained the faith of the people and what is especially important — of the lower strata.

The arrival of the party to power and its predominance over the opposition poses the question as to whether or not the nation's party and political system has again returned to the situation of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's. It is necessary, however, to take into consideration the fact that the entire structure of bourgeois political power in the nation has changed markedly due to new socio-economic and political phenomena. The change in ruling parties in the center, the growing influence of the opposition, and the experience with coalition government not only in the center, but in many states all fundamentally distinguish the situation in the beginning of the 1980's from that of the first three decades of independence.

At the same time, the formation of the elements of a classical multiparty bourgeois political structure, towards which some strata of the national bourgeoisie, liberal landlords and capitalists, and the growing wealthy peasantry were striving, was still only in its first stages, and experiencing the influence of quite profound factors. These factors involved both the necessity of immediately solving the complex socio-economic problems facing the country, and the increasingly sharp struggle of different and at times contralictory political forces over the way of solving the cardinal problems of development.

The rightist reactionary forces are, of course, a dangerous alternative to Congress Party power at the national level. It is the main danger, and it is increasingly on the political horizon. The Indian National Congress, led by L Gandhi is struggling against this as a broad organization with relative historical progressiveness. It uses this to maintain its popularity and deserved authority.

Leaders always play an important role in a political struggle. In India, as a classical nation of the East, this is especially important for the leader is a symbol of mass consciousness, a stable national instinct, personal faith and even respect. Here, in the eyes of the rank and file voters any, even the most progressive, political course does not exist on its own, but is associated with a definite personality. For 35 years no opposition force in India has been able to put forward a great figure of general national importance.

The large extent determined by the fact that it was the party of Mahatma in the first and Jawaharlal Nehru. Even today the Congress remains a party grouped that I leader. This became completely obvious when in the course of several in recent years the overwhelming majority of Indian voters gave their interact to those who followed Indira Gandhi, giving to them a considerable of the support which they never gave to the Congress Party alone. Indira is to a huge extent helped by the fact that she is the daughter of Schru. However, her own qualities as a gifted state figure in Asia, her immism, energy, and decisiveness, will power, as well as ability to in touch with the masses both in times of celebration and of troubles and to arouse their sympathy have all helped maintain her influence. In this sense the Congress Party continues to have definite advantages arising above all trum the general nationalist, anti-imperialist, and peace loving aspirations of the Indian people.

Various judgements can be made with respect to the prospects for Indian political developments. Many observers do not exclude the intensification of tenderal ies towards the concentration of power in the hands of one individual. Influential circles of the national capitalist class are quite definitely striving for this. Suggestions have repeatedly been made about changing the constitution and attempts have even been made to organize political movements around them. Will the Congress Party resort to such methods of maintaining power, or will it remain true to the democratic institutions established by J. Nehrul it appears that this latter case is the most favorable for democratic circles. The Congress Party has no genuine reserves for maintaining its mathematic other than turning to Nehru's socialist ideals and striving to fill them with real content through a policy of social progress in the interests of the Indian working people — the majority.

One thing cannot be doubted: Any development alternative will proceed from an intense political struggle and to a considerable extent will depend upon a mass movement, upon the activities of the nation's left, democratic and progressive forces.

Will not attempting to predetermine this struggle's results in the immediate future, one can, however, still make a few observations.

For many years India has suffered from a fragmented democratic movement, from its inability to achieve mutual understanding and develop a unified program of action on a national level. This is widely used by the forces of the right, skillfully exploiting all the favorable opportunities created by the numerous vestiges of the middle ages in Indian life.

This is why the liquidation of the fragmentation in the democratic movement and the forces of social progress, and the unification of their joint efforts, operating in one direction, against the danger on the right, is objectively growing into the most important problem in the further development and renewal of life in India's society.

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11,314 CSO: 1807/56 'MOTHERLAND' EDITORIALS CRITICIZE PUBLIC POLICIES, AFFAIRS

Corporations Need Reform

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 4 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

Corporations in Nepal are not what they are expected to be. Most of the corporations are not known to have made profits. The reason for the disappointing performance of these corporations is mainly due to the incoherent and inconsistent policies of the government which has resulted in making these corporations ineffective and serve primarily the financial interests of those who hold the reign of power. In the cricumstances no corporations be expected to make profit.

Secondly, the catagorization of corporations is made on unscientific basis. There is in fact no rationale regarding the catagorization of the corporations as A. B, C and D because the very principle is based on discriminatory practice which does not help less priviledged corporation people to take pride in their job. If the government wants to get most out of the corporations, the catagorization system should be done away with. Besides, a clear line should be drawn between corpo-

rations which are purely service-oriented and others which make profit.

Viewed in this context the recent notice issued by the Finance Ministry is not only confusing but also quite pointing in the sense that the service-oriented corporations seem to have been left in the lurch as far as the question of physical and other facilities to be given to these corporation employees is concerned. The idea to make the corporations more autonomous is indeed worth welcoming but it is a half-baked idea because this will make most of the corporation employees feel extreme humiliation. As for example how can employees of smaller corporations can have the monetary and other facilities which organisations ·like Nepal Rastra Bank can give to its employees. This is against the principle of rewarding people according to their merit. The government will have to give a second thought to it or it will be creating another mess.

Wathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 5 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

His Majesty King Birendra, who visited Changragadhi in Jhapa on Sunday, has given some specific instructions to the Pradhan and Upa-Pradhan panebas of the country's town panchavats now holding a conference at Chandragadhi. needs no pointing out here that most of the town panchayats have not been able to live up to their task. They are seen badly involved in activities other than what they are supposed to do. They do not seem to have been conscious of their duty to the people who had elected them to the prestigious posts of town panchayat. None of the town panchayats of the country are n a good shape and none of them seem doing what they are actually supposed to do. The tax they collect and the assistance which they receive every year from the government are not put to any good use. In fact the face of m st of the town panchayats would have been changed by now if they were really interested in doing their job. Their problem is: either they

become too subservient to the government or become hostile forgetting that they are meant for some other purposes.

As far as the relation of town anchavat officials with their voters is concerned, it is extremely disappointing. people do not know most cases the who their representatives are. This is indeed a case of poor public relation for people who are supposed to maintain relations with the people on day-to-day basis. One major thing in which they are interested is the handling of funds for the obvious reason. His Majesty has specifically mentioned that the centre has already thought out what the role and function of the town panchayats should be. only hope that the town panchavats can live upto the expectation of His Majesty the King by maintaining closest contact with their voters and by making judicious use of the valuable resources made available to them.

Pice Rises Held Unjustified

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 6 Jun 83 p 2

[Text]

If nothing seems to be steary in this country, at least, rise in the price of all kinds of consumer goods has been steady enough. The trend would not have mattered much if the purchasing power of the people also had increased more or less proportionately. Price rise, nobody needs

to be told, is a worldwide phenomenon but in other countries measures are taken to provide relief to the people in one way or another by way of enabling them to go nerate more income to cope with the rising prices. Just the contrary is happening in this country. If the prices of every conceivable consumer goods have registered a

steady rise, the purchasing power of the people is also declining steadily. A funny and ridiculous thing.

The price of electricity is raised, water tax is raised, paddy price is raised and just name one thing the price of which is not raised. And now the price of common salt, one of the most essential items, is also raised by fifty per cent, an enourmous hike from any point of view. The justification given by the government for raising the price of the common salt is more or less true but there can be no justification for raising the price of salt by 30 paisa per k.g. The Government

should have in fact subsidised such essential items or there is no sense why the people should have a government if it cannot do anything for them. Such a rise in price across the border could have triggered off too big a trouble but, fortunately or unfortunately, the people in this country have long been behaving like the dumb. The reason for this is perhaps that the people have nobody to champion their cause but what the panchas are there for? Are they not supposed to take up the cause of the people? People have nobody to look to for help if the panchas turn their back on them.

Nepali Congress Ban Denounced

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 10 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

The consistent efforts of the banned Nepali Congress to hold meetings and conferences and the equally consistent administrative action against its activities, as is highlighted by a reported incident in Kapilvastu district recently, is confusing, to say the least. What one fails to understand is who is to be blamed: the banned Congress or the local administration at the instance of which the police. act? The constitution guarantees the Nepali people the freedom to assemble peacefully and if it is this freedom which the outlawed group is trying to assert and exercise, the local administration's step to disrupt the meeting cannot be justified. By doing so it is only denying what the constitution of the land has given to the people.

At the same time, the constitution prohibits any activities designed to propogate partisan views and feelings and if this is what the group is out for, the police action takes a just course. By dubbing the meeting as one of the students' gathering, the group cannot give a constitutional veneer to an act carried out in an open defiance of the law.

The matter does not however end here. It is not clear which one of the two provisions supercedes the other. Or say, how is the line to be drawn between a peaceful assembly and a politically inspired one? It may well be within the perview of the courts to look into this and clinch the issue. But as far as the common man is concerned, he is in the dark.

Ministers Accused of Nepotism, Favoritism

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 12 Jan 83 p 2

Text'

People in general look on ministers with considerable amount of distrust. The reason for it is very simple. The ministers never or cannot do what they profess to do. The result is that the common folk have come to believe that are there only to deliver speeches. far as people are concerned, the ministers are not taken seriously. That is one reason have never been thev to enthuse the people. They are never taken by people as their leaders. This is not as had as it should have been in other countries which have their own democracy. The government-people relations have always been anything except satisfactory in Nepal. And a better relation cannot be expected in the foreseeable future. Nothing can be more regrettable than this. Yet, so far so good. worse is the fact that even government employees have stopped taking the ministers seriously. Some of the new ministers have embarked upon an inspection tour

of offices under their ministries with the that the hackneved message deserving ones would be rewarded and the guilty punished. Such ministers should have better taken note of the reality which has been obtaining in the country for so many years. The reality is that those who have connections are rewarded and those who have none, no matter how meritorious they might be, are never taken note of. Nepotism and favouritism have reached a new high and in most cases the ministers concerned are not even aware how some of the employees get promotion rewards. When government employees know that there are very little things that the ministers can do, how can one expect them to work honestly and sincerely. This is a dangerous trend and can ruin the whole administrative machinery the ministers really become serious and become aware of the need to assert their authority where they are supposed to.

Pay Discrimination Held Unfair

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 13 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

The HMG employees will be receiving a hike by 20 percent in their basic allary for the third month at the end of this Nepali month, yet, shamefully enough, no decision has yet been taken about the employees of so many government

owned corporations. This is a very irrational kind of discrimination which the government could have avoided. Logically speaking, when the government can raise the salary of so many employees, there is no reason why it should not be able to do the same for the corporation employees.

The government should not have indulged so blatantly in meting out stepmotherly treatment to corporation people for no fault of their own. If corporations are not needed, the government should be able to do away with them. And if they are required to become economiclly self-reliant, they should be instructed to do so without any intereference from the government. But if they are to exist, they cannot be discriminated against the government employees. Either the government should say that corporation people are second rate employees of the government or they are completely independent from the government. The government has done neither of these showing

its incompetence to understand the function and role of the corporations. The simple logic which the government should understand is that the corporation people are as much affected by the rising prices as the government employees. One will have nothing to say if the government thinks that it is only the government people that are affected by the price of every thinkable consumer goods. It is useless to talk about the problems and difficulties of the people because the government is incapable of thinking that a hike in the salary of the government employees logically leads to the hike in the price of consumer goods making them the worst sufferers.

Panchayat Election Role Condemned

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND 19 Jan 83 p 2

Text !

The Panchavat Policy and Evaluation Committee has come under heavy fire recently not from outside but from within the panchavat itself. Members of the committee have been universally condemned for the dirty role they are alleged to have played in the recently concluded central committee elections of various class organisations. The body was created with the objective of further crystalisation of the policies and principles of the reformed Panchavat system under which all Nepali are panchas and all the panchas Nepalis. But schism which the members of the committee are vastly alleged to have been bringing about within the system can at best be described unfortunate as far as the development of the system in response to the changing needs of the time is concerned.

The panchas seem to be horrified by the way the members of the committee involved themselves in the election of the office bearers of the central committees of various class organisations. Their alleged intervention in the selection of the candidates and the money spent for getting candidates of their preference elected has rem nded even well-meaning panchas who believe in their ability and have faith in the system of the once much-dreaded Back Village National campaign. cannot expected system be The to emerge stronger when the panch s themselves become skeptical about the constitutional body created to further consolidate and liberalise the system. If the members of the committee have in the manner they are doing now, it can be predicted that they will be the whatever first to waterdown vitality the system has acquired with the third amendment to the constitution.

030: 4500 '259

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE SECTOR TERMED QUESTIONABLE

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] The investment climate in the country can improve only after the public and private sectors are treated at par by the Government, President of the Karachi Stock Exchange Bashir Janmohammad said in Karachi on Thursday.

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honour by the Institute of Business Administration (IBA) at the Karachi University Campus, on his election as President of the KSE, Bashir said that the Government contention time and again, about its support to the private sector was questionable.

He admitted that there have been cases where the Government has come to the rescue of the private sector, yet the public sector enjoyed more privileges in respect of easy availability of funds as working capital, infrastructure etc.

Bashir said that the Government sponsored corporations and foundations were setting up industries and have an advantageous position in obtaining infrastructure tacilities, sanctions and soft-term loans. In this connection he mentioned the names of Fauji Foundation, Shaheen Foundation, Bahrai Foundation and Police Foundation.

The private sector, he said is fully aware of bright prospects of investment, but it had its own limitations. For example, he said the private sector is facing paucity of funds which should be removed forthwith. Besides, the step of identical industrial units sanctioned simultaneously in the two sectors, goes in favour of the public sector in respect of the sale of goods, import of raw material and all other policies connected with the industrial growth.

Bashir said that more than 70 per cent of the total industrial growth belonged to the public sector. If the Government sincerely wanted to help private sector, he said the public sector would be restrained to come forward to the industrial fields where the private sector is setting up its own units.

He said that no share is given to the public from the corporations, companies and industries owned by the Government.

He said out of 11,000 limited companies, only 326 companies were listed on the Karachi Stock Exchange.

He said that inconsistency in the Government policies has always disturbed the cost structure of the new industrial units when they are planned to be set up in the country. In this respect he mentioned the cost of infrastructure facilities like gas, electricity, water, petroleum products etc.

INDEPENDENT PLANNING BODY'S OBJECTIVES EXAMINED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 13 Jan 83 p 4, 6

[Text]

OR a want-infested consciousness, nothing is more soothing than the talk of economic planning. When you hear it from the maestros of economic management, it is more enthralling than even music and Urdu lyric. For when soft voices die', music cannot survive in a memory invaded by the roar of silencer-less automobiles; and the purest of lyrics evokes feelings that somehow or the other make you more acutely aware of your deprivarions. Planning, on the other hand, sublimates the harshest of your today into the rosiest that tomorrow can offer. And all that planning, the subconscious knows will leave your life unscathed. The birth of De Mubashir Hassan's Planning Commission is. therefore, to be grarefully welcomed. More planning, and a more blissful tomorrow to contemplate.

Dr. Mubashir Hassan is an intellectual of stature who must be very clear in his own mind about whatever he is concerned with. Yet others may not find it easy to define his economic ideology, beyond that he is a radical. His name is associated with some drastic shifts in the traditional economic policy of the nation—shifts that pulled away finance and industry from their entrepreneurial moor-

ings and left them there in effect, rudderless. For the private sector, he was a socialise to be dreaded. It was, perhaps, a inisconception, or he has outgrown that state of mind and now seems keen to assure the private sector of a respectable place in the egalitarian plan he intends to produce.

The fact that as a private citizen he has created a private Planning Commission, though as Finance Minister he had the official agency virtually abolished, may or may not denote some shift in his thinking. It is certainly not the response Dr. Mahbubul Haq could have wished when he issued the call for an "honest" national debate on the Sixth Five Year Plan. Dr. Hag's only anxiety was that his planning might not come "honest" under discussion ("... honest intellectual debares ... on national development are a rarity ... "). That is more or less irrelevant in Dr. Mubashir's case. For, he is not joining the debate; he has rejected the Haq Plan, wholesale and promised to offer one of his own making. The official planning agency, he says, is handicapped for a number of reasons, and that is the raison d'etre of his Independent Planning Commission: The Government department is handicapped in many respects as it had to even fix power and gas charges as also

the railway fares on the adtice of its creditors instead of decing about them according to the country's requirements. Unfortunately our governments find their hands tied to the creditors' whims'.

This is a statement of the obvious no one is going to dispute. But Dr. Mubashir's planning also suffers from two major handicaps which he himself does not seem to notice. One, his plan will have no relationship with the capacity and intentions of the executive machinery. Two, his approach to planning presupposes a social framework which is not there.

The Independent Planning Commission of Pakistan, he proclaimed, believes that four factors seriously hampered economic development of the country: (1) General social and cultural backwardness, (2) unequal rights and opportunities for women, (3) draining away of national wealth to foreign countries through unequal trade terms for financial and technological dealings, and (4) unequal state of development of various regions and provinces of the country. The perspective has been drawn flawlessly. In this perspective, however, Dr. Mubashir's planning will inspire less confidence than will Dr. Hag's. It is too much to imagine that the former's plan

will lead us to the ways and means to bring about not only a transformation of our own social situation but also of the international economic order built on inequality and injustice. Is he really serious about it? In any event, his planning is not good enough as an ivory tower.

It is more comfortable to stay within the fourwalls of Dr. Hag's guidelines to development, at a safe distance from the inequalities of the international economy and the consequent drain of national wealth, from the saddening thought of social backwardness and from the confounding awareness of resource-objective gap: "Development has been defined in many ways. Many scholars have spent their lives researching its true meaning and content I have often been asked; what are my yardsticks to measure economic progress. My yardsticks are not very sophisticated, they are simple. I believe that if even a single child cries in the middle of the night for want of milk or food, then in some personal way our development planning has failed. We all have failed. For a plan must have a human dimension. It must be rooted in the economic needs and cultural values of a society."

"Actual development is faster than plannning", and both can be overtaken by budgeting.

MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR PLANNING SEEN AS A MAJOR CHALLENGE

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

Our planners and economic managers cannot hope to solve the basic problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality unless the country is able to achieve a much higher rate of growth than what we have so far achieved. This would call for a higher rate of productive investment. But it is here that the shoe pinches. Even when the planners make a realistic plan they are confronted with the very difficult problem of finding enough financial resources for its execution. The domestic resources are far inadequate to take care of plan projections even when more than 20 per cent is collected in taxes annually, because very little is left after defraying expenditure on defence and debt repayment. Moreover, the technique of deficit financing to improve resource availability has not been of worthwhile consequence in this respect.

In a situation like this, the Vice-Chairman of Planning Commission is promising to carry out a

programme of developinvestment ment and which would create the largest number of jobs, increase production quickly and cater to the needs of the poorer sections of the community. Theoretically speaking, a plan of this nature can usher in something like an economic revolution in the country. But it can only happen if the necessary funds are available and a proper atmosphere for its implementation is created.

Our planners have not been sufficiently sensitive to the fact that capital in any community is not a fixed quantity, and that it increases or decreases as a result of individuals' choices and the general climate. In plain terms, capital can increase if the people are encouraged to save and convert their savings into assets and assured that the value of these will not depreciate in future.

The current financial scene is characterised by a preponderance of loan capital as against equity capital. Interest rates being what they have been,

investors have been attracted by fixed deposit sci. and of banks and the like. The cost of capital has become an item of revenue expenditure and risk capital has taken a back seat. This situation needs to be corrected.

It is really very difficult to mobilise the huge resources that are required for financing the Sixth Five Year Plan in view of the fact that the rate of savings is one of the lowest among the developing countries. The paltry rate of domestic savings of 5 to 6 per cent of the GDP. even when the home remittances comes to 3 billion dollars per year. brings out the state of our financial position. All expectations with regard to increase in savings over the years have been belied. And the reason given by our financial experts for this phenomenon is the fact of raging consumerism.

In fact ostentatious living has become the way of life with us. All the evils of a feudal society in full play in this country. The upper classes set the social standards which are copied by other classes. Wasteful expenditure and exhibitionistic consumption has become status symbol which has demonstration effect and this evil has

spread far and wide in the country. Most of our labour force that has gone abroad for gainful employment belongs to rural areas where ostentatious living counts which raises their status in the community. They indulge in consumerism and no effective measures have been taken to check it or keep it within reasonable limits. Unless this pattern of living is reformed the rate of savings will be next to impossible to increase within foreseeable future.

If we are sanguine to drive out poverty and give a better standard of life to our people it is necessary that genuine efforts be made for social transformation. We must realise that status quo cannot be maintained. Change must come. And for this political will is required to take radical steps so that necessary changes can be effected. All in all policies should aim at creating conditions which encourage savings, induce investment in sectors with large employment potential and promote the development of priority sectors which can impart a new dynamism to the process of growth. This will help reduce poverty and also bring about a more equitable distribution of income and wealth.

CUTTING EXPENDITURES STRONGLY ADVISED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 11 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

The new increase in the prices of petroleum products and gas did not surprise us at all. We had predicted this increase just about a few weeks back, but surprisingly our news was contradicted by a so-called spokesman. The principle that the user must pay the price of whatever he or she uses, is unexceptionable. However, the rub comes in when attempts are made either to make undue profits or to raise money through taxes and surcharges levied over and above the economic price that the consumer ought to pay. Then, a lot of heart burning is created in the populace if this policy of "user must pay for what he consumes" is not universally applied.

There is a general feeling in the country that whereas the agricultural sector has been the recipient of favours in terms of subsidies and taxes, it is the industrial sector and the consumer of industrial produce, that have been made to bear the brunt of development expenses. The tilt towards the agricul-

ture sector is evident from the omission in price increases of L.D.O. On our part, we appreciate this discrimination as it serves an energy producer for lifting water from wells for irrigation purposes. We have always maintained that this principle should be applicable to all energy sources used for productive activity. BUSI-NESS RECORDER has been projecting this principle for well over a decade now and has asked for withdrawal of subsidies and concessions whenever they have been given but according them to transport and communication, energy and water. Unfortunately. the increases that have been made in the prices of gas and petroleum products throw all the burden on these basic necessities of the productive sector. It is almost certain that the price rise of the endproduct of the industries will be of geometrical progression. The promise that a watch would be kept on any "undue" price rise can at best provide



evidence of this inescapatle result and good intent. To But intentions, however noble, have never arrested the natural process of cause and effect. We all know it and have experienced it.

For the people in general the exclusion of the domestic consumers from the price increase in gas and kerosene is nothing more than a sop as the cost of living is bound to go up across the board for everyone living in this country. The question arises: Whether the Government will be able to take a determined stand against demands for increase in salaries and wages? There will have to be increases in the export incentives so far provided to keep Pakistani products competitive in the world market. We have repeatedly pointed out that so far as our economy is

concerned the dog has been chasing its tail. We see no way of getting out of this mess unless the people at the helm of affairs pluck courage and everyone from top to bottom in the Government machinery, public and private sector, from the highest to the man in the street, is asked, persuaded and made to live within tne country's and his or her own means. We swear by Nazaria-e-Islam and Islam teaches us this very principle not to be extravagent in any sphere of life. Besides, it is enjoined on every follower of Islam to stand upright and speak the truth. It is time the regime told the people of Pakistan that everyone without exception must live within the means that the country can provide without more and more Ribabearing borrowings.

TARIFF COMMISSION MAY BE SET UP AGAIN

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 11 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by Anwar Rajani]

[Text]

A move is afoot to set up a Tariff Commission again which was disbanded in June, 1975.

The proposal is being examined by the Government in view of the fact that tariff protection given to local industry against the import of foreign goods is not being looked after properly.

not being looked after properly.

The Cell which was created in the Ministry of Commerce to replace the Tariff Commission in 1975 is now reported to be ineffective, or it has practically disappeared.

Informed sources told "BUSI-NESS RECORDER" that the work of tariff protection has now increased again and local industry frequently approaches the Commerce Ministry in this behalf. Due to insufficient staff the cases of protection cannot be decided judiciously.

cases of protection cannot be decided judiciously.

The Tariff Commission which was set up just after Pakistan came into being had an elaborate procedure for granting protection.

The procedure of the Tariff Commission to grant protection was through regular hearings of the parties concerned which included the management, whole-salers, agents, importers, retailers and consumers. Now the protection is given on representations of the parties concerned which ultimately create hue and cry from other quarters.

The Government is reported to

The Government is reported to be of the view that protection should be given to the local industry but all the formalities required in this behalf should be observed properly as was done at the time of the existence of the Tariff Commission.

It is also reported that suggestions to re-establish Tariff Commission have been made to the Government from certain quarters.

If the proposal goes through the new Tariff Commission would help determine the cases of protection in right perspective and there would be no heartburning from any quarter after the case is rejected or accepted.

EXPORTS IN DECEMBER REPORTED UP

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 13 Jan 83 p 1

[Text]

Pakistan's exports during Declast amounted to Rs 2930,3 milnon showing an increase of 25.7 per cent over the exports during November, 1982 (Rs. 2,325.7m) and 31.9 per cent compared to Dec, 1981 (Rs 2,213.7m) respectively, it was officially stated in Karachi yesterday.

Imports into Pakistan during Dec amounted to Rs. 5,909.8 million (provisional) which was lower by 7.4 per cent compared to import of Rs. 6,378.7 million (provisional) during November, 1982 and higher by 16.9 per cent compared to import of Rs. 5064.5 million in Dec. 1981

Main items of export during Dec 1962 were cotton fabrics (Rs 246.5 million), cotton yarn (Rs. 245.2m), rice (Rs 245.2 million), petroleum products (Rs. 229.4m), raw cotton (Rs. 211.7m), readymade garments (Rs. 124.3m), carrets and carpeting (Rs. 122.5m), leather (Rs. 114.3m), fish and fish preparations (Rs. 76.6m) and guar and guar products (Rs. 21.4m).

Of the main items of impots, crude oil accounted for (Rs. 1,303.4), edible oil (palm oil and sovabean oil) (Rs. 254.4 million) and fertilizer (Rs. 213.m) during Dec 1982.

Rice fetched Rs. 245 247 (00) raw cotton Rs. 211,758,000, cotton varr. Rs. 245,240,000, cotton fabrics Rs. 246,534,000, leather Rs. 114,334,000, carpets and carpeting Rs. 122,469,000, petroleum products Rs. 220,449,000 and readymade garments Rs. 124,330,000 etc.

FRIDAY CLOSING OF BUSINESS PROTESTED, SEEN AS HURTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

Time and again it has been emphasised that too many holidays coupled with the weekly closure on Fridays, have been causing a lot of difficulties which a developing country like ours can hardly bear. But it seems that no one is interested in rectifying the situation though everyone apparently agrees with us on this point. There are certain elements who do want to do something in this regard, but they find themselves helpless or apprehend adverse emotional reaction which prevents them from taking up the issue seriously. Only the other day, the rice exporters have come out with the complaint that the time given to them by the Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan to participate in international tenders for rice export, was too short which was further shortened by holidays within and without. Besides the Eid Milad-un-Nabi, because of the half day of Thursday and full closure of Friday coupled with Saturday and Sunday closure abroad, the traders

failed to take part in the REC tenders. This is the most recent example of the consequences of sticking to a wrong decision. We are not against observing Milad-un-Nabi holiday. On the contrary, we are all for it: But what we oppose is the observance of Friday as the weekly holiday. This single step has been telling upon the economy.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that by observing half days on Thursdays and full day holiday on Fridays, we are, as a matter of fact, cutting ourselves off from the world markets for almost half of a week. All our trade and financial contacts with the rest of the world remain suspended all these days. As a result, most of our efforts particularly to boost exports are frustrated. The example of rice exporters is before us. Hundreds of such cases are there, the cumulative effect of which is bound to be substantial. Should we continue to suffer only because of politically motivated, wrong or emotional decisions?

Islam has never forbidden the faithful to work on i iday and keep their worldly chores suspended on that day. The Quran, on the contrary, clearly asks the faithful to engage themselves in their normal business as soon as the Juma prayers are over. The decision to close down business on Fridays was taken by the former regime just to exploit the simple masses. It was a political decision to take the wind out of the sails of the Nizam-e-Mustafa movement though the regime did not benefit from it. However, the present regime while taking a number of steps undoing the injustices done by the p revious rulers, perhaps, fail-ed to understand the implications of Friday holiday and allowed it to continue. It may be argued that a number of other Muslim countries observe the same practice, why not Pakistan? The answer is that almost all of the other Muslim countries are rich countries by virtue of being oil exporters. They have huge amounts of money in foreign banks and as such they have the power to dictate their terms, even to open offices and work on holidays to transact business. What about us? If we are late even by minutes, they would refuse to comply with our request to cash our cheque! This is a fact of life and we must accept it.

What we want to stress again is that we must not be unrealistic or adamant. We must face the facts as they are. We are making frantic efforts to maximise production and exports so as to free ourselves from the grip of the loan-giving agencies and achieve selfreliance. Political pressures apart, even economically these agencies have been compelling us to take decisions which are, in the objective conditions prevailing here, not conducive to our well-being. The recent move of further increase in energy prices, is nothing but the reflection of one of these agencies' advice to make the people pay for what they use without bothering in the least how the measure would further rob us of our capacity to save and invest. As a matter of fact, the step may lead to further dependence on them. It is to meet such challenges that we must work and work hard so as to produce more and more and still more. With this objective in view, we will have to minimise the number of holidays besides shifting our weekly closure from Friday to Sunday. We would urge the Government to take the people into confidence and tell them the truth. We are confident that they would listen to reason and agree to a change in their own greater interest in conformity with Islamic teachings.

LONG TERM, RATIONAL ENERGY POLICIES STRESSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Jan 83 p 6

[Text]

THE **FEDERAL** Government's decision to raise the prices of gas, petroleum and petroleum products will cause widespread anxiety, not only because of the burden it will impose on the poeple's resources but also becuase it reveals a dangerous lack of foresight on the part of economic planners and custodians of public finance. The contention that the gas tariff for domestic consumers remains unchanged is too thin a sugar coating to make the bitter pill palatable. For one thing, the common man will be directly hit by the increase in the price of kerosene oil and, for another, the commercial and industrial users of gas and oil will certainly pass the additional burden, and possibly something extra, on to the consumer, and the cost of living index will shoot up. Public opinion has a well-founded distaste for mid-year increments in prices and service charges and the present measure will revive its worst fears, particularly in view of the fact that the factors advanced to justify the

tariff revision have not materialised all of a sudden. They could have been foreseen by any administration blessed with a reasonable amount of intelligence and sense of responsibility.

It is said that the fall in the par value of the rupee, as a result of delinking, has increased the loss on gas and oil account by Rs. 1,000 million, and that money is needed to finance the development of Sui gas fields (Rs. 2,200 million) and the Pir Koh wells (Rs. 1,000 million). The rupee had already lost against the dollar by around 18 per cent by the end of June 1982 and all indicators were pointing to a further descent. There is no reason to presume that the Budget-makers were unaware of what was coming during the fiscal 1982-83. Likewise, the development needs of the gas fields could have been visualised while the Budget allocations were being finalised. Above all, the administration is expected to be aware of the permanent nature of the energy and fuel problem as also of the inevitability of

the increase in the burden this item imposes on the country's resources. The situation cannot be met by a policy of periodic price adjustments alone, however unavoidable they may be. The public has a right to know what efforts, if any, have been made, or are contemplated, to absorb some of the increase in costs by saving in expenditure on establishment; the view that operational costs have been multiplied beyond sane limits by the unbridled managements has never been adequately countered. Further, the need for discriminating between fuel consumption for essential productive purposes and for avoidable luxuries (cars, bungalows, and less vital industrial units) can no longer be ignored. The country needs a rational and long-term approach to the problems of fuel conservation and utilisation, and not book-keepers' attitude of slavishly squaring off prices at the cost of both the economy and the common man.

IMPORT OF GOLD ALLOWED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 14 Jan 83 p 1, 6

[Article by Babar Ayaz]

[Excerpt]

The import of gold has been allowed to traders by the Government of Pakistan, for the first time, as facility against export performance of gold jewellery and precious, temi-precious stones.

A public notice issued by Ex-port Promotion Bureau also lays down procedure for exports of gold jewellery, precious and semiprecious stones.

According to the public notice, 1. Authorised exporters shall be entitled to the replenishment of gold at 100 per cent of content of jewellery exported by them.

2. The entitlement can be claimed within 30 days of realisation of proceeds of export gold jewellery.

3. Authorised exporters of jeweilery and precious/semi-precious stones will receive entitlement certificates from State Bank of Pakistan on realisation of export Pro-

4. On the basis of entitlement certificate the authorised exporters will be issued import licence by the CCI&E organisation for the quantity specified in the entitle-ment certificate.

5. The entitlement earned for

import of gold and precious/semi-precious stones shall be utilised by the authorised exporters with-in four months of the issue of entitlement certificate by the State Bank of Pakistan.

6. Import of gold, its custody and distribution to authorised exporters will be handled by the National Bank of Pakistan.

7. On the basis of import licence the authorised exporters will con-tact the National Bank of Pakistan for procurement of the quan-

tan for procurement of the quantity of gold specified in their import licence, but the quantity of gold to be imported will not be less than 500 grams/50 tolas.

8. National Bank of Pakistan will keep the exporter in remed about the price of gold being negotiated and settled. The exporter will make full payment in porters will make ful! payment in advance at a price accepted to National Bank of Pakistan for the quantity of gold to be imported. 9. National Bank of Pakistan

will charge for its services on the basis of actual expenditure incur-

red by it,

10. Wastage of 10 per cent of gold in the manufacturing of jewellery is allowed to authorised to both the above scheexporters in both the above scheme, viz Entrustment Scheme and Import against Export perform-

ance scheme.

11. Two muchines and balances for checking the purity and weight of gold will be imported by All Pakistan Gems and Jewellers As-sociation and installed at the valuation point and in the premises of the Association.

12. A conversion table indica-ting 24 K gold into various karats has been prepared for National Bank of Pakistan and valuation committee.

13. Authorised exporter of gold Tewellery and precious/semi-precious stones will be allowed to import rough and uncut gem stones including pearls @ 70 per cent of FOB value of cut and polished gem stones exported either embedded or without embedded in gold Jewellery.

14. Entitlements earned for import of cut precious/semi-precious stones shall be surrendered to the licensing authority for obtaining import licences. Authorised exporters will be allowed to accumulate their entitlement for a period of six months in order to arrange imports of economic values. period can be extended on merit in individual cases. Actual imports will be made by authorised exporters after obtaining import licences. The valuation of imported consignment of precious/semi-precious stones will be determined by the customes office concerned on the advice of the Advisory Committee set up under para (7) part 1 of the export procedure.
Precious/Semi-Precious Stones

will be determined by the customes office concerned on the advice of the Advisory Committee set up under para (7) part 1 of the export procedure.

15 Authorised exporters of gold jewellery and precious/Semi-precious stones will be permitted to import equipment and machinery under the normal provision of the import policy. If they find difficulties, they may make applications to Export Promotion Bureau

which will sponsor their applica-tion to the licensing authority.

16. The import of gold by Na-tional Bank of Pakistan and uncut/rough precious/semi-precious/ stones and pearls by the authoris-ed exporters against their entitlement would be allowed free of import duty and sales tax.

GOVERNMENT-PRESS RELATIONS: ROLE OF 'ARMCHAIR NEWSMEN' DESCRIBED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Jan 83 p 11

[Text]

LIKE armchair tourists and revolving chair planners there are also chair-borne reporters. Glued to the phone. Waiting for the handout. Told. They write "he-said-he-added" reports. And no more.

This is culled from today's newspaper:

MLR 55 ISSUED

RAWALPINDI, Dec 30: The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Ziaul Haq, has issued the Martial Law Regulation No. 55 which says "in Martial Law Regulation No. 52, in paragraph 3, for the figures, letters, word and comma, 31st December, 1982, the figures letters, word and comma 30th June, 1983 shall be substituted."

What do you, dear readers, make of this "news"?

I remember once in the mid-fifties a member of the National Assembly brought an amendment to an existing law about evacuee property which simply mentioned that in a sub-clause of such and such article the comma in the last sentence be substituted by a full stop and the words and figures after the comma be deleted and be deemed to be so deleted since the enactment of the said law.

Members, too

The members, like the reporters in their armchairs, saw no harm in

such a minor, insignificant change. They did not even care to see the "said Act" and the "clause in question" wherein the amendment was sought.

Result: A profit of millions to a certain person who had some connec-

Newspapers keep churning such stuff everyday. It does fill their columns. But the matter makes no sense to their average reader as in this case unless he has a copy of the MLR 52 with him at hand and has time to make out what the amendment really means.

The same is with the game of figures. The man holding the office always walks on the stilts of figures, percentages and gets away with it. Hits the headlines. Pretty often. Inflation rate down by 5 per cent. Exports increase by 100 per cent.

Taking resort to statistics — mostly out of context — is criminal. It has rightly been said: There are lies, damned lies and statistics.

The spokesmen keep juggling with figures. And we, the newsmen, keep swallowing them as so much milk from mother's spoon.

What else the "handout-" and-Pressnote-fed Press can do? says a reporter.
Between the source and the reporter
there is the I.O. (Information Officer)
whose primary job appears to be to
stop the news from getting into
print rather than speaking the truth
and giving away information in the
interest of the community.

Then there are P.R.s, the corrupters of the newsmen. Building the image or whitewashing the "deeds" of their principals.

No right to know

We don't have, he says, even Human Rights. We don't have even sub-human rights. It is not expecting too much to have the right to know the facts.

Before Ayub Khan (of the 'golden era' fame) enforced his infamous Press curbs he was told of the catastrophe that would follow. "It will kill the initiative of the reporter. It would plug his ears. It would put the blinds over his eyes."

Governments that followed continued with the Press and Publications Ordinance and put a new edifice over this ugly structure. They too, failed to comprehend the evils of the Press marijuana.

They turned the custodians of the peoples' rights and privileges into tailwagging sycophants waiting for the handout. Instead of "First With the News" their motto became "First With the Handout."

Reporting trips became "shopping sprees," junkets, denials at home, pleasures abroad.

When the State Bank claims the rate of inflation has come down by 5 per cent no one is going to believe it. For people go shopping while the bosses in the Bank order goods and sign for the State Bank on the currency notes.

OPPOSITION VOICED TO PROPOSED EDITORIAL BOARDS

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Jan 83 p 34

[Text]

A FEW DAYS ago, the President had, in his nationwide broadcast, talked of setting up editorial boards for newspapers. Now, in his Press conference in Quetta, he has revealed that he has directed the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to establish editorial boards for newspapers to help them evolve their policies. In other words, the policies of national newspapers will in future be laid down by the Federal Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It is to be wondered how, then, will newspapers retain their 'national' character and not become official organs.

. . If, God forbid, editorial boards are formed by the Ministry of Information and newspapers are made to run as the Government wants them to run, freedom of the Press shall have

finally died in this country.

First of all, there is no provision for Martial Law in Islam. Second, there is no ban on free expression in an Islamic polity. . . If even the little freedom that newspapers enjoy today is not acceptable to the Government and if it wants to take it back in the shape of editorial boards, then, in the name of Allah, let it begin.—MAGHRABI PAKISTAN, Jan. 9.

PERFORMANCE OF PRIVATE COLLEGES CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Jan 83 p 7

[Text]

OPINION has long favoured the opening of private colleges in Karachi and the rest of the country. But the new private intermediate colleges born this winter have belied the hopes that had been associated with private initiative in higher education. A report in this newspaper on six of the seven private intermediate colleges that have finally won recognition from the Directorate of Education brings out details that are shocking. All six are housed in rather small residential buildings. Four of them already have schools on the premises. One ha been established in a house built on a plot measuring 150 square yards - with the landlord living on the ground floor. Except one that has 10 rooms, they have just from three to five rooms. A survey of the new colleges, which have a number of students on their rolls, discovered rooms with a tin roof or other rooms the walls of which have no plaster. It would be unrealistic to expect laboratories, libraries, staff rooms, assembly halls or open space in such surroundings. There are none. And if bricks and mortar do not a college make, the intellectual capital these colleges can boast of is equally meagre. Wherever information about the salaries of the teachers was available, it turned out to be a lump sum of from Rs 900 to Rs 1,200 per month. Sponsors of two colleges were found with no previ-

ous experience in the field of education. That all six colleges are also teaching science should cause increased popular concern about the nature of growth that these institutions signify. The seventh intermediate college belongs to the Pakistan Steel and has been opened at Bin Qasim. It, thus, does not fall in the same category as the six colleges probed by this newspaper. Two of the six sponsors admitted to having no reserve fund as required under regulations. The rest, too, could not furnish any evidence of having any financial reserves. One is but a reincarnation of a coaching centre.

On the face of it, the new private intermediate colleges represent a tiny patch in the total picture. But the disturbing fact is that they symbolise the spirit and the sense of direction of our educational system. It is understandable for crafty operators to want to enter the field of education for wholly commercial reasons. But in this case, the Directorate of Education has approved the new colleges after going through the motions of scrutinising applications and inspecting the facilities offered. Apparently, the decisions were dictated by certain criteria. A threemember committee of experts was formed to examine the applications and make recommendations. After the Federal

Government allowed provincial administrations to license private colleges in September last, applications for registration were invited from educational societies. These are the first seven institutions cleared in Karachi, and one wonders if any exceptional concessions were allowed for the fact that the seven had started admissions before being recognised a highly objectionable practice. In any case, the Directorate in Karachi is said to have received 42 applications for the establishment of private colleges. So far, eight applications have been rejected and judging from the seven that have been approved, the rejected ones may have been nearer to "hovels and ruins" a description that generally fits the condition of many of the Government primary schools in this city and elsewhere. It is anybody's guess if the applications not vet scrutinised will yield any silver lining in this bleak picture. But even if any exceptions are discovered, the conceptual flaw in our educational planning will remain starkly evident. A streak of failure runs all the way from primary education to post-graduate teaching.

The sad fact is that the question of basic minimum of standards for higher education has seldom been treated as an important factor in our educational planning. Often enough, the issue has been bypassed by presenting it in a manner as if it conflicts with the goal of educational expansion, especially at the lower levels. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has implied as much in the context of the Sixth Plan. Besides advocating a reduction in the subsidy allocated for higher education, he has called for a ban on any new colleges or university under the Sixth Plan. This amounts to an invitation to private enterprise to share the responsibility of the Government in the field of higher education. Indeed, the case was made for having one or two private and privatelyendowed universities. The idea may be sound, provided the promised effort to spread the primary and secondary education is made in a big way by the Government. But the opening of private colleges and, possibly, universities, should be subject to proper and rigidly enforced criteria. We have in these columns supported the role of private initiative in education. But it cannot be permitted to be commercially oriented.

Education is a social process aimed at promoting knowledge

and emancipation and as such. deserves the involvement only of motivated individuals and organisations. We will need large endowments to support good institutions. Here is, also, an opportunity for retired educationists, teachers and scholars to realise their high ideals through association with new projects of learning. Finally, it will be the responsibility of the authorities to create conditions in which competent and serious-minded people can come forward and establish standards that the nationalised institutions have generally not been able to produce. If the new private colleges fall below the existing standards, the very aim and purpose of education as an instrument of progress and advancement would be defeated. Besides, there is hardly any point in opening new colleges if they do not form part of a plan for the restructuring of the system. Meanwhile, the authorities should investigate the doubtful decisions of the Directorate in Karachi. Higher education should not be allowed to be turned into a farce. The Directorate has apparently been cynical in its approach and the anomalies and distortions it has spawned must be corrected before the malaise strikes deeper roots.

TALENT POOL TO PREPARE DATA ON DOCTORS ABROAD

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 14 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Jan 13: A meeting of the national talent pool held here today took a number of decisions to utilize the services of Pakistani doctors liverage of the services of t ing abroad for the promotion of medical education in the country.

The meeting was presided over by M.A. Kazmi, Secretary Federal Ministry of Labour and Manpower. The principals of medical colleges, eminent experts of medical field, and high officials of the provincial and the Federal Health Ministries attended the meeting.

The decisions include prepara-tion of more comprehensive data of Pakistani doctors serving abroad, to fulfil the requirements abroad, to fulfil the requirements of the medical colleges in different disciplines by Feb 83, reducing the impact of braindrain through short duration visits of Pakistani experts to the country, evolving a system which may enable outstanding Pakistani doctors to contribute to short doctors to contribute to short term technical assistance needs, benefiting from the advices of

the Pakistani Medical Experts

the Pakistani Medical Experts
Abroad through correspondence.
The meeting also considered
ways and means to expand and
enlarge the training facilities
abroad for the teachers of the medical colleges and develop high
level medical manpower. It was
emphasised at the meeting that
method of selection for training
abroad should be improved so that
genuine persons could benefit genuine persons could benefit from this facilities.

The meeting also decided to consult the World Health Organization and medical education agencies in US, Britain and other countries to get the services of the medical experts other than Pakis tanis for higher education in the country.

It was also decided to set up a panel of experts to select the re-quired overseas Pakistani doctors registered by the national talent pool in different medical colleges of the country.

The national talent pool was

set up three years ago under the directives of the President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq.—APP.

CSO: 4600/257

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END OF FIGHE DATE FILMED Feb 18, 1983